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75th Year

20 FEBRUARY 1976

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1990

Through the proper channels

By Sidney Pollard

SIR NORMAN CHESTER:

The Nationalisation of British Industry 1945-51
1,075pp. HANSO. £21.

W. J. READER:

Imperial Chemical Industries: A History Volume 2: The First Quarter-Century 1926-1952
569pp. Oxford University Press. £18.50.

There are many inherent weaknesses in official histories, but in the wartime series the sheer excitement of events, and the fact that we are all, as it were, on the same side, helps to carry the story along. Both these props fall away in peace-time. The present theme has everything in its favour: a skilled narrator, a clearly limited series of events with a beginning and an end, and possibly the major clash of political principle in this century. Yet in the end it does not make a history, and hardly even a chronicle.

Sir Norman Chester, as is usual, gives freedom of the sheer excitement of events, and the fact that we are all, as it were, on the same side, helps to carry the story along. Both these props fall away in peace-time. The present theme has everything in its favour: a skilled narrator, a clearly limited series of events with a beginning and an end, and possibly the major clash of political principle in this century. Yet in the end it does not make a history, and hardly even a chronicle.

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In spite of the unhelpful framework, some things stand out: the early phasing out of trade-unions

influence on the legislation; the way in which the governor of the Bank of England seemed to operate from within Whitehall, rather than as a victim to be taken over; the skill and power of obstruction of the iron and steel industry, led by Sir Andrew Duncan. Best of all is a glimpse of Harold Macmillan in committee arguing the Treasury control over the Boards be minimized, for the Treasury "takes a far shorter view of life than business undertakings": it would be hard to compress into fewer words the cause of our economic failure since the second World War, and of the problems of the nationalized industries.

But these nuggets are hard to find in the mountain of trivia. For it is one of the greatest drawbacks of this kind of bland, impartial, administrative history—the editors of the series—that it lacks a value system, even as to what is important or not. The vital questions of ministerial control, or investment policies, are treated in much the same way as the question as to who should carry the insurance, or how to pay compensation to employees. Who would guess from this book that here was the most serious clash on political principles, between the two major British parties since the war—if not since 1912?

It should be stressed that this book is not about the nationalized industries, but only about the process of nationalizing them during the first two post-war Labour ad-

ministrations. This will impart a certain bias to the overall impression which it leaves with the reader, and yet, in one important respect, the emphasis is the correct one: as the victorious Labour Government set about putting its electoral programme into practice, it was less in a spirit of changing the economic basis of society, and more in the concern of showing due respect to tradition and parliamentary procedure. Everything had to be fitted, as far as was humanly possible, into existing frameworks and precedents. Innovation was discouraged by both sides. No one was to be hurt. Parliamentary procedure, accountability, ministerial power—these questions receive far more attention than the role which the nationalized industries were to play in the economy in future. The men on both sides of the House, and those in the Civil Service who would carry out changes were, it seems, not in the least engaged in a social revolution, but merely in a marginally better way of administering some large firms and industries.

The atmosphere in which they worked was not fundamentally different from that of the highest echelons in a concern like ICI. The second volume of that company's history, appropriately a semi-official rather than an official work covering the first quarter-century of its existence as an amalgamation of different firms, is a masterpiece of craft. Though in form very different, being concerned with events rather than administration, and being severely critical at times both

of persons and of actions, the world it moves in is recognizably the same. Basing itself on its monopoly powers and international cartel protection, and drawing on almost limitless funds, first from Nobel accumulations and later from wartime profits, the company charted a serene course dictated by questions of security and power as much as by mere considerations of the rule of law on capital. The semi-public character of ICI was further emphasized by its responsibility for the British productive power in some war-important and protected industries, by its relationship with certain foreign governments, notably that of Chile, which it negotiated almost like a sovereign power, and by its battle in the American courts under the anti-trust legislation which forced it to abandon the "Patents and Processes" agreement with Ford, which had been a keystone of the policy of ICI and its predecessors since 1920.

What made ICI such a power, yet kept it out of the list of nationalized industries? If W. J. Reader is to be believed, it was certainly not its success, for its first years as an amalgamated concern were marked by mistakes and failures of staggering dimensions. The most devastating of these was the massive development of Billingham as a nitrogenous fertilizer plant, the plan for which forced possibly the single most important reason for the formation of ICI, just before the world's agricultural markets were about to collapse, so that no more than a small fraction of its capa-

city was ever used. Another of the large commitments to high generation, the manufacture of coal, which turned out to be another costly mistake. And, third, was the failure to diversify into other industries, destined to become the province of the most promising future. It survived all these, and although at one stage it was on the verge of bankruptcy—Paul Chambers, discussing his move to ICI, told Hugh Dalton in 1947, was told he would be back home soon as public service when it was nationalized—it has preserved its independence in this respect also. Post-Dr. Rauder's account is not far balanced, as the steady and profitable working of some of the glamorous traditional sectors receives less attention than the spectacular losses. But beyond the sheer strength and size of the firm, protected by cartel agreements, and possibly the bulle of some individual egotists, the organic change, which time again gave ICI a bargaining power against I. G. Farben and the A. S. cans, deserve most of the credit.

In the 1950s the cosy world of market sharing and government began to change. Numerous new products, from plastics and artificial fibres to drugs, and internal reorganization could hardly keep pace with the change in market reality. New money came over from Lord McGowan, who ruled for nearly thirty years, nearly absolute autocrat, but of this, Dr. Reader modestly writes, being too near to the present, outside the historian's field.

POETRY

Under the influence

By David Bromwich

R. S. THOMAS:

Laboratories of the Spirit
65pp. Macmillan. £2.25.

JOHN FULLER:

The Mountain in the Sea
46pp. Secker and Warburg. £2.40.

During the 1950s R. S. Thomas played a curious role in the making of a plain style for British poetry. Odd, unacademic, with severe geographical and emotional limits, his work seemed to care about the lives of ordinary people in the language of ordinary people. His flatness of tone was to some extent deliberate, and it had, as revealed in a selected edition of Edward Thomas, a respectable ancestry. Yet a comparison of these two poets, both minutely concerned with the dignity of rural things, can serve as a reminder of R. S. Thomas's limitations, which are not only or primarily of subject. The truth is that he does without most of the resources of poetry: urbanity, but also the play of wit that is invention's better half; drama, but also the sense of dramatic pitch that makes for a modulated speech. Mr. Thomas has endeavoured to be, and very largely succeeded in becoming a poet without charm.

At this high cost his poems give a detailed and often moving account of their own experience of compassion. Or so they have done until recently: *Laboratories of the Spirit* may signal a break with Mr. Thomas's earlier work. The poems in this volume employ a language of religious and personal crisis. Nothing about them would lead one to call it a crisis of belief, though, for that matter, it is not Mr. Thomas's earlier work. The poems in this volume employ a language of religious and personal crisis.

This is a fascinating book in that it does provide a plausible interpretation of Chinese military and diplomatic conduct in three centuries where territorial integrity has been at stake. The author, of course, obliged to draw conclusions on the basis of beliefs whose origins are in the nature of things somewhat obscure. However, the book is a strong case for interpreting Chinese conduct in light of three criteria, namely: concern over external exploitation of vulnerability arising from loss of weakness, a willingness to use deterrence through calculated bluffing, and a sense of duty in conveying deterrent signals in manner which takes account of problems of the adversary response.

A feature of this book is the way in which it illuminates the blurred division between the American academic world and its intellectual community. One striking example of such blurring is the kind of access that it can give to scholars able to live in both worlds. It is provided when Professor Whiting refers to the American bombing of North Vietnam beginning in 1965. "The response," he writes, "is a guerrilla attack on the American troops and aircraft." A corresponding footnote reveals: "Actually the raids were preplanned on the basis of a prophecy of the future of the American future: that a Communist assault would be mounted on the American installation during the visit of McGowan Bundy, the assistant for National Affairs."

We demand our reason from the skies that have the emptiness of our affirmations.

But in the end we may be enlightened, as leaves from the deciduous Cross fall on us, weeding us clean, turning our autumn to gold by the affluence of their fountain.

They, on the other hand, are isolating the human virus and burning it up in the heresies of their faith. Mr. Thomas is inclined to sound especially melancholy at the end of a poem, and this tendency to drive a point home is equally a point not connected with the subject at hand—ruths a number of otherwise modestly successful poems.

For readers of American poetry, Mr. Thomas's brand of assurance will be something new. It is a highly idiosyncratic

a less rocky, less aristocratically confident, version of Robinson Jeffers. His literary opinions, set forth in a poem on "Taste", are calculated to increase his sense of isolation.

Tommyson? Browning? If I mention them, it is but from convention, despite the vowel technique of the one, the other's moral check.

Then Hardy, for many a major poet, is for me just an old-stager, shuffling about a bogus health cobwebbed with his Victorian breath.

Do these verses sound at any rate fresh of their kind? Alas, Mr. Thomas is only rewriting another bad poem, John Crowe Ransom's "Survey of Literature" ("Then there was poor Willie Blake, / He foundered on sweet cake"). "Son-Watching", "The Chapel", "The Moon in Leger", and a set-piece out of Lawrence, "Ann Griffith", are the poems here that one would not want to have missed. Not delightful to remember, exactly, but pleasant to have, and they are exceptions to the prevailing mood. A poem, by no means among Mr. Thomas's worst, that shows some of the difficulties of his present phase is "Hill Christmas".

"They came over the snow to the purer snow, fumbled it in their hands, put their lips to it like beasts, stared into the dark

where the wine house, felt it sharp on their tongue, shivered as at a sin remembered, and heard love cry momentarily in their hearts' manger."

They rose and went back to their holdings, naked in the bleak light of December. Their horizon to the one small, contracted, stone-walled field with its tree, where the weather was to be born.

The gesture of sympathy in the first light, lying a little over bearing, a little heavy with humanity, and "hearts' manger" is at once ugly and facile; but no reader would deny the cumulative force of the tableau; the one small, stone-walled field with its tree rounds it off with fine cadence; and, of course, Mr. Thomas's poems always have a saving remnant when he is writing about actual people. The poem is a disturbing, perhaps chiefly because of its too-steady and not fully earned insistence on the hopelessness of all sacrifice and all life.

There is a literary-potentiality in "a slip/remembered" so much more than in "a slip/remembered". And why, for the purposes of this poem in particular, must the body of Christ (or the newborn babe) be "appalled"? In what sense? Sometimes, as in "Even as his best, Mr. Thomas is too complacent about proposing and disposing.

The Devil for a joke Might carve his own initials on our desk, And yet we'd miss the point because for its own sake it is spoke

An idiom too dated, Auden-esque. So Donald Davie in "Remembering the Thirties". The idiom, since he wrote, has suffered further attenuation, but few efforts at revival can have gone as far as Mr. Fuller's. Here, in fact, is a genuine instance of undating. From the Letter to Lord Byron-esque Epistles to Several Persons Mr. Fuller now anticipates forward in his own career and backward in Auden's to the style of *Poems 1930*. His new collection has its dwelling in a world of vague menace and jagged stone-age wonders. The atmosphere is, on the whole, attractively inhuman: over it all, understanding but not divulging, presides the author. Mr. Fuller is a good poet, and more than a good poet, and his progress has been extremely odd. Influence at this level is mysterious. One can only say that something deep in Mr. Fuller responds to something deep in Auden, and the more he writes the more he is assured his poetry gets.

He opens with a tour-de-force, "The Devil for a joke", and highly idiosyncratic

meditation on the sublime entitled "Up and Down". This is where it begins: A calm marks the place Where sky negotiated A hasty truce.

Thrown up like apophthegms Of a phlegmatic culture During some geological Tedious prologue

They shoulder for position While offering their profiles Like notables at a spa Grouped for the lens.

They have settled into age With fear of being alone. Such gauzy tranquillity. A herded peace!

The third stanza has an effect of not quite sinister animation (Mr. Fuller can make a geological deposit as eloquent as a bloodstain). And the reader who is arrested by the poem's phlegm will soon meet manumens, be told of the exploits of "that old enemy" (Supreme Antigone?), and finally settle down to the poem's slow and grand pervasion, which allows some comfort from the spectacle of conposure amid the flux: Privacy of worlds Not wasted but perpetual, Tons and tons of indifference, Lightness of heart.

Mr. Fuller is frighteningly adept at the almost-ecstasy of himself and of Auden—and he knows how to impart to ordinary things a sense of impenetrable ritual: "Hat in hand, a wave from the shoulder/A shift of plane, colour catching the light/Fanning of sleep or dilly at short." Sometimes he is a little too close to what used to be home; hearing of "The drill of seeds, the hill coming down", anyone who has loved *Paid on Both Sides* will think: "But surely he means 'The locusts' moving down/The fall of an old house'." At the same time Mr. Fuller is a strong enough poet to make one feel that his conscious tribute is often simply a case of shared temperment—the predilection for, as his jacket notes, agreeably explains, "ruined buildings of several periods".

The "we" of these poems, which is familiar rather than conspiratorial, grows steadily warmer through the book. Now and then Mr. Fuller speaks not as an exceptional poet, but as a poet who is "one of us"—a peculiarly observant and marvellous one—and his verse, without warning, begins to breathe a different air. He can write, in "Ceer Arianrhod", of a "disrupting, perhaps chiefly because of its too-steady and not fully earned insistence on the hopelessness of all sacrifice and all life."

For whom a map could never and at the shore Where livelikehood begins, that salt To be shared with bustle of seals Alone, like emperors, in the black waves.

These lines are the loveliest moment in *The Mountain in the Sea*. With one conjuring look Mr. Fuller takes in the large expanse of a theme, that preoccupies him: the solitude of man in nature and the solitude of nature without man. He is indeed a student of the nostalgias, preferring to what the present helplessly knows, all that the past close to know.

Flitting over the long stretch and over the short, the poetic equivalent of "perfect pitch" are Mr. Fuller's overriding virtues. Three poems here—"Up and Down", "Evening Signs at Giddy-Cello", and "Bourgeois" (a poem wholly satisfactory on their own terms). Why, then, does one continue to think of him as a poet of local feelings? Why is it that the lines quoted above have more individual life, more imaginative pace, than any extended piece of writing he has done since "The Two Sisters"? A poet as directly influenced as Mr. Fuller runs the risk of producing an undifferentiated patchwork of his favourite author's mannerisms, and he can afford to remind himself, that no one has ever scaled the heights while reading a map. In the best passages of this collection, there are signs that he is becoming a creature you would mistake for no other, as well as that, with unusually cultivated things, is a natural poet.

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Confrontation, Chinese-style

By Michael Leifer

ALLEN S. WHITING:

The Chinese Calculus of Deterrence India and Indochina
299pp. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. \$15.

China's military riposte to Indian assertions of sovereign rights along their common border has been explained primarily as a response to a provocative forward policy which threatened a vital line of access to Tibet. Allen S. Whiting seeks to explore beyond the bounds of such explanation by examining China's military and diplomatic conduct within a broader span of relations. At the same time he sets out to provide more than a fuller account of why the People's Libera-

tion Army was unleashed against the inadequate forces of a once friendly Asian neighbour. He is concerned also to identify the general pattern of Chinese behaviour in crises, and to this end, compares Chinese conduct leading up to and beyond the outbreak of Sino-Indian hostilities with experience in the Korean and Indochina wars.

Despite its wider purpose, the major portion of *The Chinese Calculus of Deterrence* comprises a systematic and sound analysis of the border dispute which culminated in the war of October 1962. It is interpreted within a Chinese perspective governed externally by foreign penetration of Tibet for subversive purposes. Nationalist Chinese mobilization across the Taiwan Strait together with a temporary belief in American complicity as well as apprehension over likely Soviet collusive practice.

Internally, it was shaped by the social and economic consequences of the Great Leap Forward. The culmination of the border dispute is explained in terms of the impact of concurrent events and its course is linked to the more general objective of this study by focusing on the diplomacy of China in which communication is effected by forms of military display as well as by the spoken or written word, if not always so well understood. A significant feature of such display is that it is conducted in a manner which is concealed from public view while being intentionally conspicuous to the intelligence services of an adversary power. In this way, the management of a crisis through signalling military intent can be separated from impulses of popular passions.

The obvious difficulty in the art of crisis management is that the equivalent of signal books are not issued in advance. And in India's case, an inability to regulate Chinese signals indicated a determination to fight meant that popular passions carried a forward policy beyond the limits of Peking's endurance. It is important, however, to separate the explanation for specific Chinese actions from the general practice. Whiting explains the outbreak of war in terms of locked-in positions by the contending parties.

At the very least, Chinese exaggeration of American intent in the Taiwan Straits crisis of June 1962, contributed to an overestimation of the degree to which Indian policy resulted from hostile collusion with the United States or the Soviet Union, or both. This in turn evoked a more militant PLA border stance in July, which Chinese a "fulfilling prophecy" effect in triggering an equally militant upsurge of nationalist fervour in the Indian parliament and press.

Such explanation does not in itself account for the devastating defeat inflicted on India which was a consequence brought about the very diplomacy which China feared. Indeed the purpose of such explanation is to point up a failure to read Chinese signals, corresponding to the American failure in Korea, so ably documented elsewhere by Professor Whiting. By contrast, the more responsive American attitude between 1965 and 1968 during the course of the bombing of North Vietnam, which produced a partial success for Chinese deterrent practice in ensuring security for lines of communication and supply, is an

attempt to demonstrate that China crisis behaviour is rational rather than idiosyncratic.

This is a fascinating book in that it does provide a plausible interpretation of Chinese military and diplomatic conduct in three centuries where territorial integrity has been at stake. The author, of course, obliged to draw conclusions on the basis of beliefs whose origins are in the nature of things somewhat obscure. However, the book is a strong case for interpreting Chinese conduct in light of three criteria, namely: concern over external exploitation of vulnerability arising from loss of weakness, a willingness to use deterrence through calculated bluffing, and a sense of duty in conveying deterrent signals in manner which takes account of problems of the adversary response.

A feature of this book is the way in which it illuminates the blurred division between the American academic world and its intellectual community. One striking example of such blurring is the kind of access that it can give to scholars able to live in both worlds. It is provided when Professor Whiting refers to the American bombing of North Vietnam beginning in 1965. "The response," he writes, "is a guerrilla attack on the American troops and aircraft." A corresponding footnote reveals: "Actually the raids were preplanned on the basis of a prophecy of the future of the American future: that a Communist assault would be mounted on the American installation during the visit of McGowan Bundy, the assistant for National Affairs."

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Built to please

By Anthony Blunt

DEBORAH HOWARD:
Jacopo Sansovino: Architecture and Patronage in Renaissance Venice
208pp and 129 illustrations. Yale University Press. £8.25.

This is a fascinating book, full of information and very readable. Its subtitle gives a better idea of its theme than the title itself, because, as Deborah Howard explains in the preface, it is primarily a study of Venetian patronage, as illustrated in the work of one architect. It is not a monograph on Sansovino—this gap was filled by Tafuri's monograph of 1969—so, for instance, his sculpture is hardly considered, except in so far as it forms part of his architecture, and his early building in Rome are only mentioned when they provide relevant comparisons with his Venetian works.

Jacopo Sansovino is therefore primarily an examination of the complex system which controlled building in Venice in the sixteenth century. The innocent might suppose that patrons of the arts were simply divided into two categories—public and private—but it was in fact a great deal more complicated than that. First there was the state, which in effect meant the Council of Ten (which at this time consisted of some twenty members) under the presidency of the Doge; then there were the Procurators of St Mark's, who were an independent body which controlled—owing to the bequest of a medieval doge—the whole of the Piazza and the Piazzetta of St Mark's and who were therefore almost as important to an architect as the Council of Ten.

Next came the church; but here the patronage was far from uniform. The monastic churches were, on the whole, richer than the parishes, but occasionally a parish church was lucky in getting the support of a rich merchant, or even a dead one, and could make something of a splash in rebuilding or redecoration.

Parallel to the strictly ecclesiastical bodies, but perhaps even more important, were the Scuole, the lay fraternities devoted to the salvation of their souls in the next world and the construction of splendid settings for their existence in this one. And last of all, though very important, were the individual patrons who—of fate decreed on the one hand that all thick uncles died childless so that they inherited considerable fortunes, or, on the other that the family palace was destroyed by fire—were prepared to affirm their importance by splendid constructions on the Grand Canal or one of the other distinguished quarters of Venice.

Even this formulation of the system would be an oversimplification, however, because a procurator was likely to be a member of the Council of Ten, or the brother of the doge; the abbot of a monastery would certainly have relations in these high places, those who controlled the Scuole were inevitably members of the great Venetian families; and, as a private individual was rich enough to rebuild his palace, he would certainly have been a member of one of the councils of state and would probably thought it advisable to secure the salvation of his soul by benefaction to a Scuola or a monastery, or by building his own chapel in one of the parish churches.

Sansovino was involved with all these bodies. For the Procurators of St Mark's he built the library and the Loggetta and for the Council of Ten the mint and the Fabriche Nuove di Rialto. In the ecclesiastical field he built churches for the monasteries of S. Francesco della Vigna and S. Spirito in Isola, and two parish churches, S. Martino and S. Giuliano; one of his most frustrating commissions was the Scuola Grande della Misericordia, mainly because the money was constantly running out, but he was luckier in the three private palaces which he built for the Dolfin, Corner and Moro families.

Sansovino was therefore involved in all the problems connected with patronage, but there were other practical problems which could hold up work. The innumerable workshops established had to be demolished to build the library had to be found alternative accommodation in an equally good area—a problem familiar today, or the scope of the chiese shops on the site of the mint raised trouble when they were threatened with being transferred to the Rialto; and all

these problems caused delay and frustration. Miss Howard traces the path the architect through this maze and tells a story which is a little more dramatic, as for instance when Sansovino was summoned to the prison because part of a vault of the library collapsed. It has many moments of human interest. Sansovino himself, in addition to being a great architect, was remarkably skilful in dealing with difficult patrons and difficult situations.

He completely accepted the fact that when he was working for the Procurators of St Mark's they were his absolute masters, and if anything went wrong, they were entitled to stop his salary. It is off, because few Italian architects of the sixteenth century were designing—so many public buildings. If only Michelangelo had a little of Sansovino's flexibility and diplomacy!

Miss Howard's account of Sansovino's struggles and successes reveals a rare combination of qualities. It is based on detailed research into Venetian archives imaginatively transformed into a story which interests equally the social historian and the student of architecture. Since one must cavil at something, it may be pointed out that Miss Howard's account is not as good as her history. The plan of a church shown as figure 1 is an ellipse (a form never used in sixteenth-century) nor even an oval, but a rectangle with semi-circular ends, and it is therefore not really comparable to the other sixteenth-century churches. Further, a page 15 the writer states that so Sansovino transformed the Piazza di San Marco from a "rhomboid" into a "trapezoid". This would not be true even if she had written *trapezoid* instead of *trapezoid*. Miss Howard is a pity that plate 3, which is said to represent a woodcut for the 1537 edition of Serlio's *Libro*, is in fact a copper plate by a Venetian engraver on which his name and the date 1537 are clearly visible. These are, however, minute blemishes on a book which is admirably composed and beautifully produced.

I must be added that Houdon's own increasing casualness in signing and dating his late works makes identification still more difficult. Faced with this problem, Mr Arnason's answer is not to draw up a catalogue raisonné, but to establish "a basis for a canon of authenticity" by describing and illustrating the best, and certainly genuine, works, arranged in chronological order and with special attention to the earlier ones; he then records Houdon's production from Salon to Salon from 1769 to 1784, attempting, as he goes, to follow the course of his life, and the evolution of his style. He does it, necessarily, however, to begin by placing the artist in the perspective of French tradition, all the way from the Renaissance to the eighteenth century. This is inevitably a sweeping survey; Germain Pilon and Jean Goussier are dealt with in a few epitaphs, and the sculptural style of the *grand siècle* is defined as the one "given authority by the founding of the French Academy" (presumably the Académie royale, founded in 1664, not the Académie française). He then

Portraitist of an age

By Jean Seznec

H. H. ARNASON:
The Sculptures of Houdon
294pp and 144 illustrations. Phaidon. £20.

In *The Sculptures of Houdon* H. H. Arnason's primary concern is with surviving sculptures which can be securely identified, and which he believes to be from Houdon's hand. Houdon's research, in his view, has not sufficiently concentrated on the works themselves. Louis Réau's posthumous book of 1961 should have been a definitive study, but the editors could not achieve all his intentions; and the book includes, as authentic, a substantial number of works to which Mr Arnason takes exception.

The problem is a complex one: and it is made exceedingly difficult by the sheer multiplication of copies, replicas, and versions in different materials. Many of these were made by Houdon himself or under his control—in the case of busts, at the request of the sitter. Diderot, for instance, requested five plaster copies of his bronze bust at Langres, to be distributed to the aldermen of the city. With Sophie Arnould, the sculptor agreed to deliver the marble of her bust, plus the terracotta which had served as a model, plus thirty copies in plaster, promising not to make any further busts in any material for anyone else! Pastiches and forgeries also proliferated, even in Houdon's lifetime, as he bitterly complains in 1784.

Despite the laws of the Old Regime, my works were constantly recast, forged with my name put on them, while others, even less honest, simply copied them adding their own names; and now, despite the measures taken by the Convention to protect the arts and ownership, they continue to be sold, to be exhibited, to be paraded, publicly, and to rob me of my labours.

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proceeds with Houdon's artistic formation.

He grew up among artists, "at the door of the Academy" as he puts it, as his father was concierge of the Ecole des élèves protégés; he got his first prize in 1761; and was sent in 1764 to Rome, where he spent the next four years. His early studies were in the anatomy of the human figure, but five statues (in different versions) survive from his Roman period. His close contact with antiquity, his affinity with its spirit, are revealed in the "Vespal" and the "Fidèle de la République", while the famous "Scoré" intended as a preliminary study for the "St John", denotes his exacting realism. As for the "St Bruno", in his profound, contemplative simplicity, it is in perfect contrast with the baroque tradition as illustrated by Stodt's treatment of the same subject. Although such themes—drawn from history, religion or mythology—were uppermost in the academic hierarchy, whereas the portrait was considered a minor genre, Houdon, back in Paris in 1768, dedicated himself to portraiture, sculpture for instance, requested five plaster copies of his bronze bust at Langres, to be distributed to the aldermen of the city. With Sophie Arnould, the sculptor agreed to deliver the marble of her bust, plus the terracotta which had served as a model, plus thirty copies in plaster, promising not to make any further busts in any material for anyone else! Pastiches and forgeries also proliferated, even in Houdon's lifetime, as he bitterly complains in 1784.

Among his sitters at the Salon of 1771 were "Morpheus" (the marble version of his "morceau de réception" for full membership of the Academy) and a bust of Diderot, which Mr Arnason, quite rightly, discusses at some length. It provides him with an opportunity to note those technical characteristics "which became further personal signatures of the sculptor", particularly the modelling of the eyes—so vivid that Grazioplene tried to be made of enamel—and the more so since they look slightly past the spectator. Another feature of Diderot's bust introduced a new epoch in the history of portraiture: it is treated à l'antique, a torso truncated and undraped, without wig, stripped of all accessories. This is in fact how Diderot pictured himself, in the playful description which Mr Arnason might have quoted: "J'avais un grand front, des yeux très vifs, d'assez grands traits, la tête tout à fait du caractère d'un ancien orateur." Diderot indeed admits that the bust is "à la ressemblance" (a disappointingly brief comment). Some ten years later, he was to offer the bronze cast to his native city.

Beyond individual likenesses, Houdon achieved a "typical" one: Diderot's bust also personifies "the philosopher and the man of letters". This is precisely what La Tour had explained to Diderot himself, that the bust is "à la ressemblance" (a disappointingly brief comment). Some ten years later, he was to offer the bronze cast to his native city.

It is probably through Diderot's friend Grimm, the editor of the *Correspondance Littéraire*, that Houdon was introduced to the German prince and (in the last months of 1771) to Catherine the Great, who became his patron. Here begins his "international" career. He visited the court of Saxony to study the location of a projected tomb chapel; he returned twice in 1773. At the Salon of that year four portraits of members of that German house appeared, transformed into noble Romans; there were also the Empress of Russia (from the living model) and the funeral monuments for the Galtzain princes' tomb—Alexis, the senator, and Mikhail, the Field Marshal—commissioned by Dimitri, ambassador to France.

The Salon of 1775 saw (in Mr Arnason's words) "sensational developments in Houdon's art of portraiture, and an enormous expansion of his powers". From then on, individual portraits rather than monuments were to be his more regular commissions; and he no longer depended on foreign patronage. His reputation brought



Houdon's portrait of the Comtesse de Sabran (c. 1785); an illustration from *The Sculptures of Houdon* by H. H. Arnason.

we know of him, the more we enjoy Houdon's portraits: it is the pleasure of recognition. For the less famous, a fuller introduction would have been in order here. Madame de Charrière (Belle de Zuylen), whose bust was also exhibited in the Salon of 1771, is simply presented by Mr Arnason as "a Dutch lady of letters, who lived most of her life in Switzerland". It might have been pertinent to recall that she once had James Boswell among her sitters, and that she enjoyed an ardent intellectual friendship with Benjamin Constant.

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"Diderot", "d'Alembert", "Buffon" (for Catherine II), "Rousseau" (from the death mask). Voltaire died in the same year as Rousseau (1778), after having witnessed his own apotheosis; his bust by Houdon, crowned on the stage of the Comédie. The seated "Voltaire", perhaps the most famous of Houdon's works, is the supreme illustration of his genius for imbuing not only the face but the entire figure with the intense sense of inner life.

In the meantime, the American Revolution had taken place. It opened a new phase in Houdon's career. Affiliated with the Lodge of the Nine Sisters, he met two fellow members, John Paul Jones and Benjamin Franklin; he made their portraits; this in turn led to the commissioning of the statue of Washington, on the recommendation of Jefferson, minister to France. A fascinating story, fully documented. In 1785, the sculptor, accompanied by Franklin, crossed the Atlantic to make studies from life for the "Washington"; we have the report on the sittings at Mount Vernon, with the technical details of the preparation of the plaster given by the sitter himself.

Washington's statue at Richmond is today facing that of Lafayette, which had been commissioned for the Virginia Assembly. The bust of all these initiators and leading figures of the American Revolution were in Jefferson's collection at Monticello. His own bust appeared, quite appropriately, at the Salon of 1789. It is one of the most striking, and the most perceptive: it reveals "the aristocrat, the intellectual, and the man of affairs"—as Franklin's bust radiated the wisdom and the benevolent humour of *le bonhomme Richard*. Thus, the portrait gallery of the new republic was now complete, thanks to a French sculptor. No doubt the bicentennial celebrations have promoted its multiplication.

This however is far from exhausting the list of Houdon's productions during the years immediately preceding, and following, the French Revolution. To the "official" series of the great men of France (a kind of prefiguration of the Pantheon) he contributed his royal commissions—a superb "Tourville" as dramatic as a Bernini, with his windswept hair and plumes; and to the roster of his famous contemporaries he added Suffren, the admiral, Quénay, the economist, the Montgolfier Brothers the aeronauts, and Cagliostro, the charlatan. More distinguished foreigners set for him. His family portraits now included the anglicised Madame de Pompadour, the economist, the Montgolfier Brothers the aeronauts, and Cagliostro, the charlatan. More distinguished foreigners set for him. His family portraits now included the anglicised Madame de Pompadour, the economist, the Montgolfier Brothers the aeronauts, and Cagliostro, the charlatan. More distinguished foreigners set for him. His family portraits now included the anglicised Madame de Pompadour, the economist, the Montgolfier Brothers the aeronauts, and Cagliostro, the charlatan.

From now on, and until 1789, Houdon's production increased both in quantity and in variety; but as we near the fatal date, it acquired a truly historical import. This is the period when he finally gained access to the royal family: the king's brother, the Count of Provence, and his wife; his aunts, Madame Adélaïde and Madame Victoire; Louis XVI himself, and Marie-Antoinette. This is also the time when he exhibited those busts of children (Alexandre and Louise Brongniart, his own daughter Sabine) which rank among his most delightful creations. He even ventured into sculpture, and he had cast in bronze his splendid "Diana". He was indeed to carry on bronze-casting on an expanded scale during the revolutionary years. He lists these achievements in the memorandum submitted in 1784 to the Académie, where he recapitulated his career, to conclude:

I have dedicated myself essentially to two studies, to which I have devoted everything I have

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learned: anatomy and bronze casting. Being at the same time sculptor and metal founder, and moving in my country this useful art which could have been lost, since all the founders were dead when I began to concern myself with it, I constructed furnaces, I trained workmen... His exhibits at the Salons were few during the Imperial regime; so were his commissions. He had to endure David's enmity as he had once endured Caffieri's jealousy. Canova was the favoured sculptor of Napoleon and his court. Yet Houdon made, in 1806 and 1808, the bust of the emperor, and that of Josephine; and in 1812 he completed the bronze statue which was to be placed on a column at Boulogne.

He had also to incur the disapproval of the critics, as a result of the changing of taste. Houdon's style, according to Mr. Anson's somewhat over-simple formula, "had developed into a continual dialogue between rococo and classic". Neoclassicism was now the order of the day. When the "Diana" was exhibited again in 1802, it was received with scornful comments:

At the time when we were not yet familiar with the beauties of antiquity, this statue could have given us pleasure; but today, when we demand purity of design in a statue, it is impossible not to laugh at this unfortunate Diana who has not the slightest garment to conceal her French proportions.

As early as 1787, the large marble "Vestal" had been disapproved of as "not sufficiently classic". To achieve a robust elegance and essential nobility seem much closer to the great classical tradition than Canova's sweetish frigidity.

Houdon's last Salon was that of 1814; his last bust, that of Tsar Alexander I—the grandson of his

Evolutionary study

By Theodore Crombie

PIERRE GASSIER:

The Drawings of Goya

Volume 2

581pp and 407 plates, Thames and Hudson, £30.

In reviewing *TLS*, February 8, 1974 the first volume of Pierre Gassier's *Drawings of Goya* which covered the eight albums, I suggested that "if and when the independent drawings and those for the paintings and engravings are similarly treated, we will have at our fingertips an unrivalled framework into which new items can be fitted".

Indeed, one of M. Gassier's outstanding achievements in his first volume was the sense of order he imposed on the album sequences, leading to his conclusion, in this sequel to it, that "for all his unpredictable power and spiritiveness, Goya was not an impulsive artist and that he always started from a firm basis of deliberate and purposeful thought". As the categories of drawings discussed in Volume 2 are either recognizable preparatory studies of some kind or sketches that appear on many of the preparatory drawings for *Caprichos*, he does, however, suggest that those on the *Caprichos* are of a different kind, and that they are of a different kind, and that they are of a different kind.

In the light of his researches into numeration in the volume on the albums, it is a surprise that M. Gassier does not record or comment on the sketch series of some kind or sketches that appear on many of the preparatory drawings for *Caprichos*. He does, however, suggest that those on the *Caprichos* are of a different kind, and that they are of a different kind, and that they are of a different kind.

For instance, here for the first time the twenty-six *Sueños* in pen and sepia wash have been marshalled and presented in numerical order to show how, emanating from a single source, they metamorphose them, with the help of additional drawings in red chalk and sanguine wash, into the etching and aquatint of the eighty *Caprichos* as finally published in 1798. This is a very important point, and it is a pity that M. Gassier does not trace Goya's use and adaptation of all this raw material. M. Gassier emphasizes the "dramatization" of it when it reached the engraved plate, many of the drawings being subtly or even radically altered to give greater impact to a message already so forcibly expressed in his captions. It will be recalled that the preparatory drawings and related album subjects were all juxtaposed with the prints, which, in very small format, in the complete series of catalogues of 1972 by M. Gassier and Juliet Wilson, and

The adventure of the painted pistol

By Robert Melville

ALFRED FRANKENSTEIN:

After the Hunt

William Harnett and other American Still Life Painters 1870-1900

300pp and 136 plates, University of California Press, £21.

This is the story of a highly successful investigation, and the hero of the investigation himself, Alfred Frankenstein, art critic of the *San Francisco Chronicle*. He has the eye of an Indian tracker, the deductive powers of a Sherlock Holmes, and the collecting patience of a police force. He is faced by countless problems of attribution, but nearly all his hunches have a triumphant outcome and his progress is narrated in an unwhorled, amusingly old-fashioned prose style which brings to mind those fictional members of Edwardian clubland who, like ancient mariners in dinner jackets, detained fellow members with long accounts of unusual happenings:

A gracious, courteous lady answered my ring. I asked for Catherine Barry—if I had asked for Abraham Lincoln, she could not have shown greater surprise. She said Catherine Barry was her mother's sister, but she had died many years before. (I never did find out when or where.) She also said her own name was Anne Whitaker; and she asked me what brought me there. By this time the door had been open long enough for me to see a superb, unknown painting by Harnett on the living-room wall (plate 77). It quickly explained my errand: I was invited inside to meet Anne Whitaker's sister, Nellie, and within a matter of minutes I held in my hands the richest collection of Harnettiana which has so far come to light.

The subject of the inquiry was William Michael Harnett, the American painter of illusionistic still-lives, active in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. He became successful towards the end of his life, and it was thought that he died a rich man, mistakenly as Frankenstein discovers. He was forgotten soon after his death in 1892 and his posthumous comeback started in the spring of 1935 when the Downtown Gallery in New York was offered a painting of a pistol hanging from a nail in an old, splintered door; which appeared to be a newspaper clipping, which someone at some time had insensitively and incompetently stuck to the surface of the painting, leaving off the surface, turned out to be part of the painting and on close examination proved to be unbreakable. The signature and date, "W. M. Harnett 1890" were pointed out as if carved in the door. "That," back there in the dark, was a virtuoso to be investigated."

By 1939 the Downtown Gallery was able to put on a show of four-teen still-lives bearing Harnett's name. The catalogue emphasized

the "arbitrary juxtaposition of unrelated objects" and the exhibition was treated not so much as a belated brilliant contribution to the art of seventeenth-century *trompe l'oeil* as a prediction of Surrealism. (It might be added that the still-life space and use of actual newspaper in certain Cubist works by Picasso and Braque were also "predicted" by Harnett.)

Eight years after the Downtown show more than a hundred paintings ascribed to Harnett had been bought by museums and private collectors, and Frankenstein, suspending his own hunt for Harnett's pictures already found. He looked for the aspect of the paintings that had been admired by collectors of his works during his lifetime, "the perfect reproduction of the subject represented". About thirty of them were so far from achieving this kind of realism that he left them aside for future study. It left him with a body of work executed in two distinct styles, which were apparently interchangeable throughout his career. He calls

one style "hard" and the other "soft."

A major characteristic of the hard style is the extraordinarily faithful reproduction of the textures of the various objects he delineated; another is the seeming projection of the ends of small objects like nails, keys and knife handles into real space. In the soft style, the objects are represented in an undifferentiated but very pleasant paint texture, and there is no attempt to confuse the painted image with actuality. The hard paintings are signed and dated. None of the objects in the hard paintings appear in the soft paintings.

As all good writers of detective stories should, Frankenstein delays the solution of the puzzle as long as he possibly can. His researches involve him in a minute study of the letter-press pictures, in which miscellaneous papers are stuffed under strange, fastened boards. Most of them are in the soft style, and his scrutiny of the postcards, photographs, folded newspapers, bills, different handwritings and all

the data on envelopes that have passed through the post provide him with a multiplicity of clues which only complicate the puzzle. The virtue of his notations is that he becomes very familiar with the pictures. All the same, one can't help suspecting that he deliberately keeps back his knowledge of a crucial news cutting of 1893 until he can make full use of its dramatic potential.

It reports the claim that a man who had once owned a still-life by an artist named Peto later saw it again in an auction room, by which time it had acquired the signature of Harnett. Frankenstein decides that this must be the minor painter whose full name was John Frederick Peto, but about whom nothing was known except that two of his paintings had "found their way" into a couple of museums. He then learns that Peto's daughter is still living in her father's old studio, and with one serious drawback, the 136 illustrations include only one colour plate. It reproduces a masterly example of Harnett's work entitled "After the Hunt".

He then takes a look at the paintings by Peto hanging on the walls and cracked in corners. "Peto, it would seem, had not only possessed some of the Harnett models; he had also painted them himself." These Harnett objects are only in the paintings in his soft style, but there are still a couple of pages to be read before he writes: "Twenty-one paintings formerly ascribed to Harnett must now, in my opinion, be given to Peto."

This is by no means the end of the book. It is followed by long, vividly supported chapters on both artists considered as leaders of veristic American painting. Then there are studies of the thirty or so paintings which did not reach the required standard, and he is able to make a number of attributions to various minor painters of the period. His value-judgments seem to me to be thoroughly sound. This is rather a lovely book but has one serious drawback, the 136 illustrations include only one colour plate. It reproduces a masterly example of Harnett's work entitled "After the Hunt".

penko began his juggler sculpture. It also ignores the fact that Boccioni's early sculptures, "Fusione di una testa e di una finestra" and "Testa + casa + luce", included many different materials and could have been under way as early as March 1912 when the artist wrote to Vico Baer of being at work on sculpture. Thus too, Mr. Karshan's discussion of Archipenko's lead over Picasso in the history of assemblage ignores the fact that these early sculptures of Boccioni included fragments of actual objects—a window-frame and wrought-iron balcony grille—almost certainly placing Archipenko second in the race against Boccioni if not against Picasso.

Mr. Karshan has cheated a little, but one can understand his determination to do more than justice to his subject. Given the vague evasions which have previously accompanied Archipenko's name in accounts of twentieth-century sculpture, overstatement competes here with an inert backlog of understatement. And if we recall the brilliant example of Boccioni or other factors such as the mechanization of Léger's figure-painting before 1912 and the theme of the machine-man in F. T. Marinetti's *Le Futurisme* of 1911, we still do more than qualify the fundamental point about Archipenko's early sculpture made by this book. He may not have been everywhere alone in the lead as Mr. Karshan suggests, but his inventions among the leaders at the beginning of open constructed and assembled sculpture, in a century which has celebrated innovation with such energy, this alone is an argument for looking longer and harder at Archipenko's achievement, and now the Italian's *Technical Manifesto* of Futurist sculpture contains a famous plea for such constructions and is dated April 11, 1912, which was very possibly before Archipenko's "Boxers", "Medrano II", "Head

A place among the leaders

By Christopher Green

DONALD KARSHAN:

Archipenko, the Sculpture and Graphic Art

Including a Print Catalogue Raisonné

164pp and 168 illustrations, Tübingen: Wasmuth.

Between 1911 and 1914, from Paris to New York, Alexander Archipenko was a boon to every cartoonist who realized how easy a target the art of the avant-garde was. Donald Karshan, in his new study of Archipenko, uses the verb "expose" for "exhibit" and although it is no doubt merely a francophone quirk, it does convey something of the feeling of exposure in the face of public scorn that Archipenko must have experienced when he showed sculpture like "Woman with a Cat" and "The Gondolier". He dared to "expose" many times before 1914, and his ability to give clear personal form to the newest sculptural ideas faster than anyone else inevitably made him the focus of witty bad temper. His early notoriety has, however, not assured him of the art of the avant-garde as one of the leading figures in the history of avant-garde sculpture, and this is a wrong which Mr. Karshan has set himself to put right.

Archipenko, Mr. Karshan writes, is "the most inventive and influential sculptor of the first quarter of this century", and it is the aim of his book to support this contention.

The best support of all would have been given by an extensive study of Archipenko's Paris, Nice and Berlin phases between 1908 and 1923. Instead Mr. Karshan provides an all too brief discussion of the 1911-14 sculptures, a list of innovations, and then a "catalogue raisonné" of the sculptor's graphic work. It is an odd mixture, but each of its parts is interesting, and it does add up to a persuasive argument for taking Archipenko more seriously.

The catalogue of prints is conscientious, and Mr. Karshan exploits the opportunity it provides for oblique but telling comments on related sculptures. Yet, even though the print catalogue with its introduction fills more than half the book, Archipenko's reputation is best promoted by Mr. Karshan's preliminary discussion of the "heroic" years before 1914. Certainly there is great range in the portfolio of fourteen prints published in 1912 by Verlag Ernst Wasmuth (Mr. Karshan's own publishers), and certainly there is technical virtuosity in the 1903 portfolio *Les Formes Vivantes*, but the graphic work was no more than a two-dimensional commentary on the sculpture, and Archipenko's sculpture after 1918 was itself no more than a commentary on the work he had produced during his early years of daredevil creativity.

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Text by SALLY YARD

Photographs by GIANFRANCO GORGONI

Christo's Oceanfront. Project was executed in August 1974, when he covered a cove in Newport, Rhode Island, with 150,000 square feet of polypropylene fabric floating on the sea, attached to the shore by 42 anchors. This profusely illustrated book discusses his work in water images, symbols, visions, and physical acts. A Publication of The Art Museum, Princeton University 43 illus., one in color, 10 1/2 x 9" £7.90

THE FRICK COLLECTION

An Illustrated Catalogue

Volume VIII: Porcelain, Oriental and French

JOHN A. POPE and MARCELLE BRUNET

This latest volume of the catalogue surveys the various types of French and Oriental porcelain in this collection.

A taste for landscape

By Christopher Brown

FRANZ WINZINGER (Editor):
Albrecht Altdorfer: Die Gemälde
161pp with 148 black-and-white
illustrations and 48 colour plates.
Munich: Hirmer/Piper. DM360.

"Diese kleine Uias in Farben" was
Friedrich Schlegel's striking descrip-
tion of Albrecht Altdorfer's "Altdorfer
Landschaften" in a long passionate
account of the picture he published
in his periodical *Europa* in 1803. He
had seen the picture in the Louvre:
it was exhibited with seventy-one
other pictures from the Bavarian
royal collection at Munich which
had been transported to Paris by
Napoleon's commissaire, Citizen
Neveu. Later it adorned the
Emperor's bathroom at St. Cloud,
which gave rise to the notion that
it was his favourite picture. If this
was the case, the "Alexander-
schlacht" no doubt appealed to his
megalomaniac rather than to his
artistic sense, in which, according
to Chénier, he was sadly deficient.

Schlegel had visited the Grande
Galerie with the Bossendorfs, and
the enthusiastic reactions of the
three friends looked forward to the
Romantic movement's revolution
of early German art. Praised by the
young Goethe, Wackenroder, Tieck
and others, the work of Altdorfer and
his contemporaries entered the
patriotic limelight of the *Sturm und
Drang*. Visitors, headed by Goethe
in 1814 and the Kaiser and Metetr-
nich a year later, flocked to Heidel-
berg to admire the collection of
Christian art in the Boissendorff col-
lection, and also in the more eclectic
Wallraf collection at Cologne.

Dürer's contemporaries in south
Germany have never received the
recognition in England that has long
been accorded them in their native
country. The significant exception
is the younger Holbein, who had the

good sense to come to England, and
therefore can be praised as an Eng-
lish painter by adoption. A group of
German pictures was, however,
included in the remarkable collec-
tion of the Earl of Arundel; the
1655 inventory lists two "St
Jeromes" attributed to Altdorfer.
Arundel had attended the Diet of
Ratisbon (Regensburg) in 1636, and
it is possible that he acquired the
pictures by presentation or purchase
in the artist's hometown.

In 1879 William Bell Scott, poet
and painter, the friend of Rossetti,
published *The Little Masters*, a
sequel to his successful book on
Dürer. Altdorfer does not emerge
as the central figure of Scott's book
—that palm goes to the Behams,
Hans Schield and Barthel—but the
Regensburg master merits two
guardedly enthusiastic chapters.
Scott's subject is the excel-
lence of Altdorfer's work as
a printmaker, but he also
praises the paintings, especially
the "Battle of Issus" ("Alexander-
schlacht"), and laments, "in
this country I hesitate to affirm
any picture of his to exist".
He was probably correct, and it was
only in 1963 that the National
Gallery added to its pitifully small
group of early German pictures a
landscape by Altdorfer, a sadly
damaged panel which in its present
state can do little more than hint
at what Scott calls Altdorfer's
"true taste for landscape". The
only other picture by the artist in
England is the "Christ taking leave
of His Mother", purchased by Sir
Julius Wertheim in 1904 and still in
the Wertheim collection at Luton
Hoo.

In view of the lack of interest
shown in him in this country, it
comes as no surprise that in the
select bibliography in Franz Win-
zinger's magnificent volume
Altdorfer: Die Gemälde
there is only one item in English

—a review by Campbell Dodgson,
that great pioneer of the study of
early German art who often be-
wailed its under-representation in
English collections. Professor Win-
zinger's authoritative work on the
paintings is the final volume in his
trilogy on the artist. He published
companion volumes on the drawings
and the prints in 1952 and 1963. He
wrote his doctoral dissertation on
the artist in 1940, and this book
expresses a lifetime's dedication.
Altdorfer has already been the sub-
ject of a number of monographs,
but whether or not one agrees with
Professor Winzinger on precise de-
tails of attribution and dating, his
three volumes now undoubtedly con-
stitute the modern account of the
artist.

Of all the artists of the Danube
School, Albrecht Altdorfer was the
most original. They were a
remarkable generation, straining
and finally discarding late Gothic
conventions, and they represent
only one small part of that extra-
ordinary efflorescence of the visual
art in south Germany beginning in
the last quarter of the fifteenth
century, and known in Germany by
the name of its greatest (though not
most representative) figure as the
Dürerzeit.

Like many of the artists of this
extraordinary period, Altdorfer was
a precocious genius. He was a
renowned engraver, and a fine
painter of landscape and figure
subjects, he was second only to
Grünewald (and both were greater,
dare we say, than Dürer) as a
graphic artist. He was comparable to
the great Northern masters, and his
tombstone bears the simple inscrip-
tion "baumleister" to record that
for the last twelve years of his life
he was city architect in Regensburg.
Winzinger's book is a masterpiece of
the art of the miniature, for the Em-
peror Maximilian, and frescoes in
the episcopal baths in his home-
town.

The problems of documenting his
life begin with the date of his birth.
Winzinger eventually plumps for
the traditional date of about 1480,
resting his argument on the tech-
nical proficiency of his earliest
print, dated 1506. (However, we
should remember that the young
Altdorfer executed his first work
more than a decade before he was
at the age of fourteen, if van Maender
is to be believed.) Nothing is known
about Altdorfer's training, though
it was probably with Ulrich Altdorfer,
a minor member of his workshop.
The young Altdorfer was a docu-
mented workaholic, who was prob-
ably his father. Nothing is known of
his *Wanderjahre*, though Winzinger
argues the importance of the
Tyrolean style of painting. He
was a hard worker, and he had to sur-
vive much about his artistic
development, we know something of
his public life and can trace his rise
to local eminence. He became, like
Grünewald at Wittsburg, one of the
city fathers. In a miniature by
Mielich of 1536, Altdorfer can be
seen gesticulating and earnestly ad-
dressing his neighbour at a council
session in the Regensburg town hall.
In 1533 the city fathers elected him
to the council which elected a Protes-
tant preacher to address the citizens,
and two years later when penance
for this misdeed was exacted, he
was one of the group of councillors
who went to Vienna to beg forgive-
ness. His sympathy for new religious
ideas can be judged from his renun-
ciation in his will of masses for his
soul, but this did not prevent him
becoming a lay overseer at the
Augustinian church in Regensburg
in 1534, and he was buried there
four years later. He was not a reli-
gious fanatic, but a practical man.

Altdorfer's largest single painted
commission, the St. Sebastian altar
at St. Florian, for the early dating
of which Professor Winzinger again
argues cogently, shows the strengths
and weaknesses of his figure style.
Altdorfer never mastered correct
anatomical drawing, nor convincing
perspective (whether Albertian or
empirical), yet how little these mat-
ters in the presence of his dramatic
compositions and strong colour. St.
Sebastian is martyred by his archers
in view of a bridge element with
cloudy blue sky; in the predella,
the resurrected Christ is silhouetted
against a fiery red sunrise. Roughly
contemporary with a number of
imperial commissions in the second
decade of the century (the minis-
ture of the Emperor Maximilian, the
St. Florian altarpiece, and the
St. George altarpiece), Altdorfer
began the series of monumental
religious panels of which the best
known is the "Crucifixion" at
Kassel. Here, like landscape, though
often an important element in the
composition, is secondary to the
religious drama played out by the
elongated figures. The palette is
bright with primary colours, and
the mood intense. (It is to this
group that the Luton Hoo picture
belongs.)

At the end of the 1520s came the
two commissions for Duke Wilhelm
IV of Bavaria, the "Susanna" and
the "Elders" of 1526 and the "Battle
of Issus" of 1529, for the com-
pletion of which Altdorfer begged
the emperor's appointment as mayor.
One of the many excruciations of
the "Susanna" and this is the story
of the "Birth of the Virgin" in
about 1520—is the architectural



A detail from Christ taking leave of His Mother, one of only two Altdorfer paintings in England.

St. George is engulfed by it. The
branches and leaves form a screen
behind the figure, and the distant
glint of a distant horizon.
Each leaf is individually delineated,
treated in a manner which recalls
the carpet of flowers in the Ghent
altarpiece, part of a tradition of
landscape which reaches back to
medieval times. In the year after
"St. George", 1531, Altdorfer trav-
elled down the Danube and drew
the beautiful view of the river at
Sarmingstein.

Nothing in the previous work of
the Danube School presages this
supremacy of nature, given later
expression in the National Gallery's
"Landscape with a Bridge" (which
Professor Winzinger dates earlier
than is usual, about 1516) and the
Munich "Landscape" of about
1526-28. In his volume on the
drawings, Professor Winzinger
quotes a passage from Conrad
Gelders: "Mich entzücken die
Quellen und die grünen Hügel, die
Kühlen Ufer des mürmelnden
Baches, die dichte Laubhölzer, schatti-
gen Wälder und die typischen
Gefilde." A direct contact with the
laureate (who died in 1507),
unlikely, but we may agree, with-
out wadding the thin line of vet-
erans, that Gelders's words stand,
at the least, as a literary metaphor for
Altdorfer's landscape vision. It is
a vision which, as Kenneth Clark
has remarked, lacks the horrors of
Grünewald's, and yet suggests the
primeval forest, in this particu-
lar in the mood of Gelders's and
Altdorfer's dream of the ancient
religion of the Germans.

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One of the many excruciations of
the "Susanna" and this is the story
of the "Birth of the Virgin" in
about 1520—is the architectural

structure in the picture. In the
"Susanna" this is a colourful ex-
pression of an Italian Renaissance
palazzo, in the courtyard of which
the elders are stoned to death.
Intriguingly, the preparatory
drawings for both pictures sur-
vive. The church interior of the "Birth
of the Virgin", together with a
print of the Regensburg synago-
gist, the artist's study of his last
Gothic, while the palazzo in the
"Susanna" is the product of a
imaginative study of Renaissance
architectural prints, scrutinized
with the eye of a professional ar-
tist. (None of the buildings Altdorfer
erected in Regensburg sur-
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was one of a series of battle pic-
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still has the same effect as it
upon Schlegel, and one's approp-
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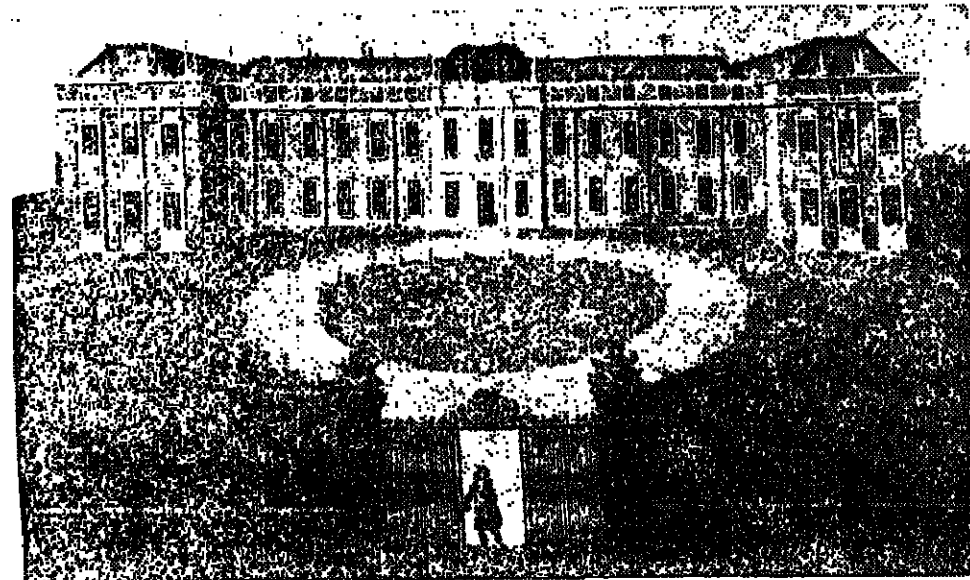
viscount and an earl—Earl of Charleville. All this was prestigious but it was also expensive, and it had brought in little real power and no money. But in 1809 the big moment came. The Charlevilles persuaded the vicar—the nearest you could get in Ireland to the king—to come and stay at Charleville Castle. He arrived in state with his entourage and was given the works. The horses were taken out of his carriage and it was pulled by hand through the park while two hands played "God Save the King". The yeomanry were drawn up on the lawn, waiting to be reviewed. Thirty-eight people sat down to dinner and afterwards the whole country came up the great stairs to the huge Gothic saloon for a splendid ball. Magnificent new liveries of blue and scarlet had been made specially for the occasion for all the servants: as Lady Charleville put it, "In short it ought to go off handsomely, for money has not been spared."

This was the softening-up process; afterwards they moved in for the real thing. The visit of Lord Charleville put in for the time, in Ireland, lucrative and important office of Postmaster General. He was refused. The family had tried to move too fast on an insufficiently good hand. Lord Charleville, however rich, was an amiable waffler; his wife, however clever and energetic, was a little vulgar; they were not quite rich enough, their connections were not quite powerful enough, to rate the Postmaster-Generalship.

Having failed in Ireland they made the big mistake of trying again in England. On-the-make Irish families without good English connections tended to be considered a bit of a joke in London society. In London they spent even more and achieved even less. They sagged on until Lord Charleville's death, but the crash came shortly afterwards: half the estates had to be sold. Charleville, powerful as he was shut up and the new Lord Charleville retired to the life of frayed-at-the-elbows grandeur in Berlin, to escape his creditors. The family never really recovered; they died out in the last generation, leaving a house empty and crumbling today, while its owner lives in a little house on the edge of the property.

Power was slippery; power could blow up in your hands, power, once tested, was irresistible. Power derived from all kinds of different factors, and in the second half of the century I want to deal with one in particular—the one which has given me my title. *Oras in Rome*—the city in the country. A major element in the power and mystique of the owner of a country house was his connection with the city.

Nowadays, it is the country aspect of the country house which tends to be emphasized, as the town country house itself, which only



The "countryfication" of the country house: Petworth shortly after being built in the late seventeenth century.

became common currency about 100 years ago, being winners. When people think of the people who lived in country houses they tend to think of them in a country context—shooting or hunting, or farming, like Turnip Townshend or Coke of Norfolk. We are brought up on the concept of the English landowning classes as essentially country-based, unlike those corrupt French aristocrats, perpetually hanging around Paris or Versailles. Today, country houses are favourite venues for country activities, for hunting trials, agricultural shows or country fairs. Some country houses have deliberately undertaken the role of teaching people from the cities about what goes on in the country.

This is a reasonable and useful role for country houses today. It is an imaginative idea to arrange for little city brownies to sit in a row at Chatsworth and gaze with amazement at milk spouting out of a live cow instead of a bottle. But when Chatsworth was built—or rather rebuilt—at the end of the seventeenth century, its role was a completely different one. When the first Duke of Devonshire, in retirement from London for political reasons, created his sumptuous palace in the midst of what Defoe described as the "howling wilderness" of the Derbyshire moors, he was not teaching city folk the ways of the country, he was introducing country folk to the latest fashions from the city and the court. He was, one could say, civilizing the country.

Nowadays English country worship and country nostalgia—the nostalgia of a nation of whom 80 per cent live in cities—tends to blot out the urban aspect of English landowners. For the English upper classes were by no means as country-minded as I think people tend to imagine. From the sixteenth century onwards they were spending more and more time in towns, especially in London, until by the early seventeenth century laws were

being passed in an attempt to keep them in the country. When they were in the country, they were often longed to get out of it. One finds Sir Henry Union in about 1590 complaining from the country that "my clownish life doth deprive me of all intelligence and comfort". Lord Pembroke down at Wilton in 1691 writes: "I have not yet been a day in the country, and I am as weary of it as if I had been a prisoner there seven years." Edmund Verney at Claydon a little later is "weary of this deep dirty country life". Lord Clifford, at Skipton Castle, has "banished myself from all my friends and recreations". Sir John Poulett at Hinton St George in Somerset feels "tired to this dull dirty place".

The account books of the third Earl of Devonshire—the father of the Duke of Devonshire who rebuilt Chatsworth—show that over a twelve-year period in the 1660s and 1670s he and his family were spending, on an average, a little under four months of the year in Derbyshire, where his main properties were, a little over a month in Lancashire, the house in Buckinghamshire where he normally stopped on his way to and from London, and about seven months a year in London. A hundred years or so later the letters of Harriet Cavendish, the daughter of the beautiful Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, show less accurately but accurately enough that in spite of the splendour of Chatsworth the family seldom spent as much as a month a year there. The rest of the time was spent either at Devonshire House in London, or at Chiswick—just outside London but conveniently in reach of it, and surrounded by other, in the grand sense, suburban residences acquired by other great people who wanted a rural retreat within a few miles of Piccadilly.

Not all families were as London-bound, even among the aristocracy

and the more prosperous gentry. But a proportion of four months in London, a month or two at some other spot, a month travelling and six months at home was certainly nothing out of the ordinary. The Georgian period was probably the age in which the upper classes as a whole were most addicted to living in towns—and best at creating them, as Bath, Clifton, Edinburgh, Dublin and Brighton still bear witness. Moreover, in this period it was not just the upper half of the society in which the country life was over England the lesser gentry were creating smaller urban centres for themselves—at Nottingham, Newcastle, York, Norwich, Exeter and so on—with substantial town houses as the urban counterparts to country mansions, and an assembly room, a theatre and a racetrack to provide recreation for those whose ambitions did not extend to London.

The absentee landlord, who spent the time whooping it up in the city, became a stock figure in contemporary satire. But so did the boozing, illiterate hunting squire, the "country gentleman" who lived at all or he did was like a fish out of water. For a ruling class, the sensible course was somewhere in between the two. Their power was the result of cross-fertilization between town and country. The roots of their power—their land and their tenantry and their neighbours—were in the country. They neglected it at their peril. But to neglect the town was equally perilous. The town provided jobs, contacts, new ideas. Those in the thick of government naturally had to be most of the time in London—Walpole, in spite of all the money he lavished on Houghton, could only spend a month a year there. Members of either House of Parliament or those with a peripheral job at court were less tied. But for everyone the city was the place where one met one's friends from other parts of the country, made new contacts, arranged marriages, prosecuted lawsuits, borrowed money, got the latest news at first hand, and stocked up with the latest fashions and furniture.

One should distinguish, however, between London and the court, because although overlapping, they were separate concepts. The fact that the court was normally resident in London was the principal, though not the only, reason why the upper classes went there. They attended court not only because, up till at least the end of the eighteenth century, it was inextricably mixed up with the government; the court was also the centre round which social life revolved. But for part of the

eighteenth century, the court was in the country. It was based at St James's Palace, near the Thames to Hampton Court and Windsor. Round these royal centres—out of London but near London—there grew up a constellation of smaller centres, elegant Thames Valley mansions and villas with comparatively little land attached to them. They were certainly not in London, but they stimulated a social and sophisticated way of life which was equally different from normal life in the country—and which can only be called suburban, in a grander and more spacious sense than we use the term today. When considering the metropolitan centre from which ideas spread outwards one has to extend it to include this courtly suburban outer ring.

The country benefited from all this flocking to the towns, to London and to the court. It is almost impossible for us to realize today how remote the country was until the arrival of railways, let alone the arrival of motor-cars, wireless and television. Country areas were almost completely isolated. The vast majority of the people lived in the towns, and the few who lived in the country town. But there was a great exception—the families at big houses, with their annual migration to and from London—a migration which involved, not just a change of locality, but a change of thirty or forty dependants as well. When they came back from London they brought in country tastes and exotic figures in the train—name negro servants, two poets, like Ben Jonson brought by Lord Leicester to Penshurst, or philosophers, like Thomas Hobbes brought by the Earl of Devonshire to the wilds of Derbyshire, or Jeremy Bentham, brought by the Shelburnes to Rowood in London. They brought, too, new methods of transport, new forms of lighting, furniture, new fashions, and forms of building picked up by the architects they had met in London. The country was not just a place of all this on the country side, but a place of all this on the country side.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century London was another model for the country

classes in their London season to see and admire and copy in the country. In 1705 the Duke of Buckingham built Buckingham House, on the site where Buckingham Palace now stands. It was immensely admired, and almost as much copied as Clarendon House, appearing not only in the houses of the country gentry as in Van in Somerset and Wotton in Buckinghamshire—but inlaid on their furniture.

These London derivatives sometimes survive rather heavily disguised. It would be hard to think of a more evocative or romantic presentation of country-house life than Turner's view of the park at Petworth, with the dogs running out to meet their master as he returns from shooting, and the long autumn shadows of the deer and the trees across the turf. Turner's view looking in the other direction, with the house looming through the autumn mist beyond the lake, and the church spire beyond it, is almost equally evocative. But Petworth as it was built in the 1680s, with its statues, domes and formal courtyard was much less relaxed, and to our eyes, much more urban. It was in fact a derivative of Montagu House in London, built a few years earlier by the Duke of Montagu, the stepfather of the Duke of Somerset who built Petworth.

Petworth was, of course, designed not for the Capability Brown park which still surrounds it, but for a formal lay-out in the French manner. Such lay-outs had, once again, been popularized in England by the first things Charles II did when he came back to England from France in 1660 was to remodel St James's Park with a formal canal and avenues angled on the front of Whitehall Palace, which he must have hoped to rebuild, but never got round to rebuilding. A few years later at Hampton Court, where there was more space to play with, he commissioned a much more grandiose formal lay-out, once more angled as a non-existent palace which he was never sufficiently in funds to provide; but in the case of Hampton Court, unlike Whitehall Palace, the palace to go with the garden, finally arrived in the time of William and Mary. Meanwhile, formal canals and radiating avenues had been spreading all over the British Isles—at West Park in Bedfordshire and at Badminton in Gloucestershire for instance—and, of course, at Petworth.

In the eighteenth century the formal lay-out at Petworth vanished in its turn before a naturalistic park, as was happening at country houses by the hundred; as a result, an English country-house park seems almost an inevitable adjunct of an English country house, but one of the essential aspects of the English country-side.

But where did the English park originate? Here is Sir Thomas Robinson, writing in 1734, about Frederick, Prince of Wales's new garden at Carlton House, roughly on the site where Lower Regent Street is today: "There is a new taste in gardening just arisen which has been practised with great success at the Prince's garden in Town, that a general alteration of some of the most considerable gardens in the kingdom is begun, after Mr Kent's notion of gardening. . . and this method of gardening is the more agreeable, as when finished it has the appearance of beautiful nature and, without being told, one would imagine art had no part in the finishing. . . The celebrated gardens of Clarendon, Chiswick and Stowe are now full of labourers, to modernize the expensive works finished in them, even since every one's memory. With anti-historical expertise one can refine on Sir Thomas Robinson and say that the Carlton House garden was based on experiments already made by Alexander Pope in his suburban garden at Twickenham. But Robinson was certainly right when he said that the new fashion for this kind of garden was due to its being taken up by some one as socially prestigious as the Prince of Wales, in a situation as central and accessible as Carlton House, where the whole of society saw it. And so, his highland glades, smooth stretches of turf, informal encircling belts of trees dotted with occasional temples, and winding lakes or rivers began to spread over the English countryside, as garden after garden and park after park was remodelled. Moreover, the attitude to planting which it produced spilled out from the parks to the surrounding countryside, so that the whole landscape was affected. It would certainly be an exaggeration, but not, I think, a gross exaggeration, to say that the English countryside was invented as a city garden of a few acres on the site of Lower Regent Street.

In continuing to build and plant and, to a considerable extent, to have in the country in much the same way as they did in the town, it must be emphasized that the upper classes had, then, no sense of doing something out of the ordinary. Until the end of the eighteenth century there was very little feeling that one style of life was suitable for the town, another for the country. Even towards the end of the eighteenth century, a rich landowner building in Piccadilly would build a square brick box with a pediment; another rich landowner, building in Shropshire, would build another square brick box, with another pediment. Even on a smaller scale, many modest

middle-class Georgian houses, of the type so sought after today, are basically just slices from a London terrace set down in a country setting. It is someone saw furniture or landscape in a London house which took his fancy, he had no qualms about ordering the same thing for himself, and sending it down to the country. Rich people dressed with considerable formality in London, but with almost equal formality in the country. The Duke of Newcastle wore his garter-star in Piccadilly; he also wore it when he was out shooting at Clumber.

The duke's portrait was painted in 1788. It is perhaps significant that when it came to be engraved, four years later, the garter-star was left out. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the feeling began to grow among the upper classes that country life required a different set of fittings to town life. By the middle of the nineteenth century the feeling had become something more like a rule. And so you find, for instance, Lord Elmsley building a symmetrical Italian palazzo in Mayfair, and an irregular Tudor-style mansion at Worsley, his property in Lancashire and, a few years later, Robert Stayer, of Dorset, doing the same kind of thing at Dorchester House in Park Lane and Westons in Gloucestershire.

The reasons for this are complicated, and I am hoping to go into some of them in a later lecture. But there is one which is relevant to what I have been talking about. The nineteenth century saw a change in the power structure. The towns increased vastly in wealth and size and became a rival political force which the upper classes did not control. By the end of the nineteenth century they had ceased to be a ruling class in the position of virtual monopoly which they had previously held. They were ruling in partnership with the middle classes from the towns; they saw themselves, and were seen by others, as representing agriculture and the country, as opposed to the industry and the towns. They were country house owners, living in country houses, built in a country style.

Moreover, even in this position they were fighting a losing battle; their power, as opposed to their prestige, gradually ebbed away, until nowadays the people who live in country houses could in no sense of the word be described as a ruling class at all. This process of being pushed from the centre of the stage tended to make them increasingly nostalgic for the past, conservative, and suspicious of new styles and new technology. The motor-car was perhaps the last new invention which country-house owners were the pioneers in bringing down to an amazed and startled countryside—

At odds with the forger

By S. E. Warren

STUART J. FLEMING: Authenticity in Art. The Scientific Detection of Forgery. 164pp. The Institute of Physics. £6.50.

The forger who can deceive the art expert deserves credit for his artistry if not for his originality. The material value of the forger's work is another matter, however, and the high prices now being realized at auction and in the private sales make it essential to check subjective judgments with stringent tests. We rely for our interpretations of history and archaeology on the authenticity of our source material. The Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art at Oxford has specialized in physical methods of examination and it was there, under Martin Aitken, that Stuart Fleming made a significant contribution to the dating of forgery while at the same time pursuing his broader interests in the fine arts. *Authenticity*

in Art is a short resumé of many of the methods now employed in the scientific analysis of paintings, ceramics and metals. The book is a major addition to what has been written on the subject, although the material presented is not as rare as the publishers and author would wish us to believe. Most of the methods referred to in the text and some of the apparatus used in the laboratory are found in recent books dealing with science in archaeology. None of these books are cited although the author does refer to those in which authenticities are based on stylistic criteria. The original research papers are fully referenced at the end of each section and will prove of special interest to those concerned with value-judgment in art and to an increasing number of scientists who are turning to the wider applications of their techniques. In this respect the subtitle, *The Scientific Detection of Forgery*, gives a better indication of the book's emphasis than does the main title: it is not clear that "art enthusiasts" will benefit greatly from reading this book unless they have a better understanding of the physical sciences.

Only rarely, as in the discussion on the van Meegeren forgeries, does the author resort to anecdote and a reasonable narrative flow is maintained throughout in spite of a high-packing density of information. The style is terse and much to be commended in a book such as this, which will be used mainly as a convenient reference tool. The terseness is perhaps over-accentuated by the brevity of the paragraphs, and the absence of right justification in the printing which, together with the poor quality of reproduction in some of the plates, detracts from what is otherwise a well-produced book.

Inevitably there are some minor errors—notably, in the explanation of the lead-210 dating method—and the appendices have the appearance of afterthoughts; they could well be incorporated into the text in a later edition. One could have wished for a better explanation of the pre-dose method of thermoluminescence dating, and a significant omission in this section is any reference to the use of zircons in the dating of ceramics. Perhaps the author feels that the forger will already have derived sufficient benefit from the text and that in Gouda's "battle of wits" it is as well to keep one or two aces in the laboratory drawer.

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Stendhal, arriving in Paris in 1799, was initially disappointed with the topography of the place: he thought it could have been improved by a setting of mountain ranges. He encountered the same difficulties when he was sent along to review the Paris Salon of 1824, in which Constable's "Hay Wain" won a gold medal. "M Constable... is as truthful as a mirror. I only wish the mirror reflected a magnificent site like the mouth of the Valley of the Grande Chartreuse near Grenoble, and not a hay wagon crossing a stretch of stagnant water." Stendhal was conditioned by the sort of composite eighteenth-century derivative of Claude, with a tour ship, a palace facade, the rigging of a ship, a selection of sailors and ladies of fashion, the whole scene emitting a steady margarita glow which stimulated his memory and his associations. He was in 1824, the representative of a civilization for whom Delille performed the function of a nature poet, a civilization, ironically enough, which was not even aware of the supreme solutions to the problem of reconciling the splendours of the world with the essential duplicity of a work of art: the synoptic vision of Corot and Cézanne.

Stendhal's *musée imaginaire* is

Materials for a monument

By Gerald Wilkinson

LUKE HERRMANN:

Turner
Paintings, Watercolours, Prints and Drawings.
240pp including 190 illustrations.
Phaidon, £12.50.

MALCOLM CORMACK:

J. M. W. Turner, R.A., 1775-1851
A Catalogue of Drawings and Watercolours in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
85pp and 61 plates. Cambridge University Press, £5.

Turner was versatile. His whole output presents a complex structure which he was anxious that we should see as a whole. Without false modesty he ensured that we inherited a great collection including his most elaborate as well as the slightest of his works. Each age has studied the facets of the great conglomerate that it found most acceptable—whether it be the sketches for the curious. It is a bundle of opposites: private and public, classical and romantic, monochrome and polychrome, linear and non-linear, rough or polished, direct and spontaneous or allusive, even surreal—one could continue, and still leave something out. He used many different styles and evolved new techniques. He made a respectable fortune out of his work, yet was so far ahead of his time that he challenges still.

All can be explained and understood, of course, but understanding must come at least partly from a study of the man, and it is a matter of explaining this concrete in terms of the cloudy and obscure. Turner concealed himself. Modern books about him are either "scholarly" which usually means arid, or they must have a creative purpose. It is not sufficient to show a large selection of the master's works, append the biographical facts of his life and a few scattered notes, and leave it at that.

But this is just what the Phaidon Turner does. The effect of this big book is strangely to belittle the artist—unless of course you were painting for the first time, then it might amaze. It is a monument, or rather, a glistering catalogue: forty-eight very beautiful colour reproductions supporting 142 in dark, ashen grey.

There are eighty of Turner's exhibited or commissioned oil paintings, thirty-four sketches (of which only four out of a possible 1,900 are pencil drawings) and seven engravings. A dozen paintings by artists who influenced Turner make up the total. One book is "Paintings, Watercolours, Prints and Drawings". It contains nothing like a true balance. A wider selection, and much more in proportion, and something of Turner's life, would be desirable. The book is a fraction of the cost from the Tate Gallery and the British Museum for their respective bicentenary

'Another word for feeling'

The Constable exhibition at the Tate Gallery: By Anita Brookner

very different from Constable's own collection of memorabilia: "willows, old rotten planks, slimy posts and brickwork, I love such things." He loved them so deeply that he never moved far away from them, hating the Lake District, despising Brighton, becoming effusive and uncharacteristic with Salisbury, and not even contemplating a visit to France where his fame was far greater than it was in England. In attempting to render his passion for the earth and sky of his native Suffolk, his territoriality—for no one saunters through his landscapes; all characters have the appearance of serfs—his indifference to what was not external, Constable saw no discrepancy in recruiting from both science and imagination whatever practical help each could give. His landscape is a drama of crowded skies, of greens registered one decibel higher only by the Pre-Raphaelites, of brilliant

canvases with a force the French thought unnecessary but which they also attempted to imitate. But it is also a landscape built on memories of the Grand Style and chronologically as belonging to the Romantic movement. This is landscape as autobiography, reflecting both early bliss and later sadness. But it is also, paradoxically, landscape in which everything Constable's revolutionary preoccupation with the suitability of pigment for sensation. The crucial function performed by the full-scale sketches is to act as intermediary between reality and artifact, and also to allow the posses-

sive desire of the painter a direct utterance before the demands of the finished picture—both emotional and technical—are respected. If the "Hay Wain", that standard picture of English bliss, alarmed the French, how much more disturbed they would have been by the six-foot study for it, where all is brown, wet and stormy, instead of green, dry and sparkling. These full-scale studies, with their smeared and clotted paint, their fearlessness, their air of an angry and only just distinguishable monologue, reveal Constable as a far more frustrated man than his artless utterances would ever let us suppose him to have been. The sketch for "Hadleigh Castle", and the many sketches of the truly blasted heath of Hampstead, indicate that Constable's sufferings may have predated the illness and death of his wife and have remained unassuaged, however clear his artistic conscience.

And Constable's artlessness?

Rather in the same category as that of Corot, one would suspect neither would scruple to move a tree or widen a river, and yet the words have a ring of subtle duplicity which is very probably misleading and which has, in the cases, provided dangerous ammunition for the historians of Impressionism. Is Constable in fact the truly natural painter he so persistently claimed to be? In one of his most recent lectures he showed a print of a Venetian which typified in his the vice of imitation, and which was precisely the sort of scene the Stendhal admired. Yet Leslie, the biographer, also reports remarks of the order of "Man is the sole inhabitant of the earth, and it is a natural landscape" and "it is a business of a painter not to tend with nature... but to make something out of nothing...". Contrary to the popular myth, the exhibition surprises one with a lack of technical edge of brushwork and a certain lack of technical achievement. How Constable has despised the mammoth task of the catalogue!

His reputation, which has been greatly sentimentalized, may have a job much as did Turner's at the Academy. One emerged into the world with the unconscious sense that death had not supervened. Turner might have gone on to paint a sacralism of the entire cosmos, to frighten us into believing in his version was superior to the real thing. One leaves the Tate with an imprecise feeling of sadness, it has been looked too long at the horrors in which the cathedral is reduced to the dimensions of a barn. Perhaps one sought too for an antidote to present spoils. Perhaps Constable did this as a clinging fiercely and for the moment, to nature before the typhons and hurricanes moved in. And yet as feels, overwhelmingly, the strength of his purpose. Unlike the hermitic vistas of Corot, his landscapes invite you to step down into that welcoming "Almighty's daylight", and now is the moral dimension of his work, overlooked by contemporaries more apparent than in this case, the tiny humble viewpoint. His vision of the barrier that separates the world of the artist from the world of the viewer, and perhaps one of the very large watercolours. It is unique (even allowing for the Ashmolean) and it should be permanently displayed. Ruskin's stipulation that the drawings should not be displayed, and perhaps one of the very large watercolours. It is unique (even allowing for the Ashmolean) and it should be permanently displayed. Ruskin's stipulation that the drawings should not be displayed, and perhaps one of the very large watercolours. It is unique (even allowing for the Ashmolean) and it should be permanently displayed.

Lie of the land

By Conal Shields

ALASTAIR SMART AND ATTFIELD BROOKS
Constable and his country
144pp. Elek, £6.50.

JOHN LLOYD FRASER:
John Constable
253pp. Hutchinson, £6.95.

A bicentennial celebration might well be thought a good time for the thoroughgoing review of an artist's work and wherefore I cannot say that the books noticed here illuminate their subject. Constable and his country is the more pretentious of the pair and the more disappointing. Attfield Brooks, in what claims to be a survey of the "topography" of Constable's country, has put together some fragments of an 1811 Enclosure Award map, hundreds of photographs of the likely sites of Constable's pictures, a passage on his own genealogy, and convinced himself and his collaborator that this proves something—namely, the "topographical exactitude" (not a novel idea). Actually, though the lie of the land is occasionally similar and the odd local feature, such as Dedham Church, can be recognized in both a Brooks photograph and a Constable painting, the definiteness of Constable's move away from the

camera's verisimilitude (or the love of the compunction) is what will impress most people. Lieutenant Colonel Brooks's captioner touches the bedrock of banality (he is not, in the event, the majority of his fellow stabbians). He says of "Two scenes at Mistley, Essex": "The vessel ground on the shore of each drawing... the same scene from opposite directions, showing that both his retina and his mind were made on the same day. The scene of the tide is higher in one than in the other...".

It is a little more than a century since the ship *The Bullock* (successor to *The Telegraph*) used by the family miller business for transporting flour to London, transferred from the river to the sea. The scene is much changed, commercial development notwithstanding, although the towers of Rye and the church remain. The identification of local colour of use: when a place was known to an artist and probably known to the historian, the fact can be proved. But Lieutenant Colonel Brooks leaves us wondering more than the reason for Constable (if he did) to paint *The Bullock* (the *Telegraph*) and explaining how awareness of Constable's "over-seeing

A pen for posterity

By Graham Reynolds

John Constable: Further Documents and Correspondence

Part 1: Documents, edited by Leslie Parris and Conal Shields.
Part 2: Correspondence, edited by Ian Fleming-Williams.
371pp with 12 illustrations. The Tate Gallery and the Suffolk Records Society, £8.

FREDA CONSTABLE:

John Constable: A Biography
151pp with 89 illustrations, 9 in colour. Lavenham, Suffolk: Terence Dalton, £4.80.

REG GADNEY:

Constable and his World
128pp with 121 illustrations. Thames and Hudson, £3.50.

BASIL TAYLOR:

Constable
Paintings, Drawings and Watercolours.
244pp with 191 illustrations, 32 in colour. Phaidon, £8.95.

The tremendous impact made by the Turner bicentenary exhibition which opened at Burlington House in the autumn of 1974 seems to have taken publishers and writers by surprise. No new biographies were produced specifically for the anniversary of his birth and, apart from the catalogues of the main and satellite exhibitions, little was brought out at the time in the way of critical reappraisal. Yet even before the Constable bicentenary exhibition opened at the Tate Gallery, a remarkable variety of fresh examinations of his life and work had appeared to coincide with this and other celebrations of his achievement. One reason may be the greater accessibility of Constable both as man and as artist. Turner was a topographer of widely separated places, an experimenter seeking to enlarge the frontiers of his technique, and ambitious to re-create in his own age the epic intentions of historical painting. Constable, for all his forays into portraiture and religious painting, seeking to enlarge the frontiers of his technique, and ambitious to re-create in his own age the epic intentions of historical painting. Constable, for all his forays into portraiture and religious painting, seeking to enlarge the frontiers of his technique, and ambitious to re-create in his own age the epic intentions of historical painting.

into his art by reference to his spoken or written remains is frustrated by his unfortunate inability to express his meanings in clear speech. Constable was an adept at self-expression, a writer whose letters would be read for their content and incisive style even if he had never achieved fame as an artist. The recipients of his letters were far-sighted enough in the main to keep them and from them we can gain as intimate a knowledge of the workings of his mind and the motive force of his art as we have for any comparably creative artist of the early nineteenth century.

This immense quarry of manuscript material has been made available as a result of the courageous editorial decision of the Suffolk Records Society, which has published six volumes of Constable's correspondence and a volume of his Discourses, all edited by the late R. B. Beckett, between 1962 and 1970. Intensive and thorough as Beckett's researches were, enough new letters have come to light in the past five years to warrant the production of a supplementary volume. *John Constable: Further Documents and Correspondence* is prefaced by an intimate and touching account of R. B. Beckett by Norman Scarfe. Though he is modestly reticent about his own part, as general editor of the Suffolk Records Society, in shaping and annotating the material, his appreciation of the significance of the achievement and enduring merit of Beckett's achievement, in spite of the quantity of new letters and letters which are assembled in this sequel and which certainly illuminate points of detail, the main lines of Constable's life remain as he left it. Our rudimentary knowledge of the formative years between 1796 and 1799 during which Constable resolved to become a painter is enhanced by Ian Fleming-Williams's researches into the Edmonstone circle round Sir James William Lake and J. T. Smith, and by his publication of the reading-list of books on painting which a member of that circle, John Cranch, drew up for Constable in 1796. Cranch's list of books, and the discourses for tending to establish "an aristocracy in painting" and for his advice to study "Nature herself as divested and distinguished from all accident" were to find an echo in Constable's later practice.

By far the largest section of new letters in this collection were written to Constable by other artists. Taken in conjunction with those already published, they emphasize how wide-ranging was his acquaintance among his fellow professionals. The fact that his letters to him are usually friendly, if not

respectful, in tone, shows that his forthright and freely expressed opinions and his bitter sarcasms did not alienate those most likely to suffer the lashes of his tongue. It would be interesting, however, to know how Constable replied when Chantrey wrote to him, at the time of the Academy elections in 1826, to ask if he had ever said that "Turner's pictures are only fit to be spit upon". The prevalence of that rumour may well account for Constable's only receiving three votes in the election.

The existing records of Constable's life, considered together with a substantial number of sketches which are dated and given place names, provide a finely detailed and for some periods almost a day-to-day account of his movements, his work, his thoughts and his feelings. To digest all these documents and produce from them a biography of manageable length calls for no negligible powers of compression, especially since Constable's prose is so racy that it is always a temptation to quote him at considerable length. Freda Constable brings to this task the unique qualification of being a member of the artist's family. She has the advantage of familiarity with the documents at first hand and that sense of rapport with the subject which can only derive from a still living tradition. The interpretation of such a heritage requires sensitive discrimination and the ability to divide truth from legend. In *John Constable: A Biography* she has shown a fine capacity to interpret the artist's relationship with the home circles which gave him his deepest sense of security. She relates the artist's life to the social history of the time and describes with special sympathy the long frustration of Constable's seven-year courtship of Maria Bicknell. Her choice of illustrations is drawn largely from the family collection and is refreshingly unacknowledged.

Although fiercely determined to be independent of other artists' modes of painting, Constable had no objection to live with the world of art. In *Constable and his World* Reg Gadeny brings his narrative on Constable's relationships with other artists, his links with the Academy, his rivalry with Turner, his acquaintance with the likes of John Constable, and for his advice to study "Nature herself as divested and distinguished from all accident" were to find an echo in Constable's later practice.

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Among the illustrations, seventy of which have not been published before, are examples of work by some of those who influenced Constable in his early years, and others by the artist's sons, all four of whom drew closely in the style of their father.

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A Victorian celebrity

By Benedict Read

LEONIE and RICHARD ORMOND:
Lord Leighton
200pp. Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for British Studies in Art by Yale University Press. £19.50.

The incoherent nature of the Great Victorian Revival of recent years is demonstrated by the case of Lord Leighton. While more critical, not to say lunatic, fringe artists have been puffed up and given a semblance of life and vitality, Leighton, president of the Royal Academy, internationally honoured and respected, mourned at his death by artists as dissimilar as Watts and Millais—and Britain's only painter peer—has been largely ignored, except for gossip about his sexual proclivities and occasional scholarly facetiousness. There are reasons for this, relating to both the man and the artist, as Leonie and Richard Ormond, the authors of *Lord Leighton*, in part explain. In his own time he was the object of envy, hatred and malice: based at first on his having trained abroad, the antipathy later shifted to the face of success to his highly developed public persona. For Henry Leighton, alias Lord Meliffont, was so solely a public performance that when you stopped watching him he simply ceased to exist. And even the less prejudicially coloured viewpoint of Victorian Leighton, as the painter of Olympian Jove, part dead water.

In recent times it has not helped Leighton's reputation that his major works have been largely inaccessible except to the dedicated enthusiasts—tucked away in "the provinces", on the often rainy outskirts of Manchester, poorly hung in Port Sunlight, or else simply not on view. No effort seems to have been made to remedy London's poor public holdings, when in the past decade or so a number of masterpieces have passed through the market at low prices. There has only been the brave attempt by Leighton House with scanty resources to present a token acknowledgment. Admittedly, these works have been doubly inaccessible since they are in a language of High Art that makes them appear at first glance eminently resistible and unsusceptible to interest, let alone aesthetic pleasure; but this is no excuse for their remaining out of reckoning.

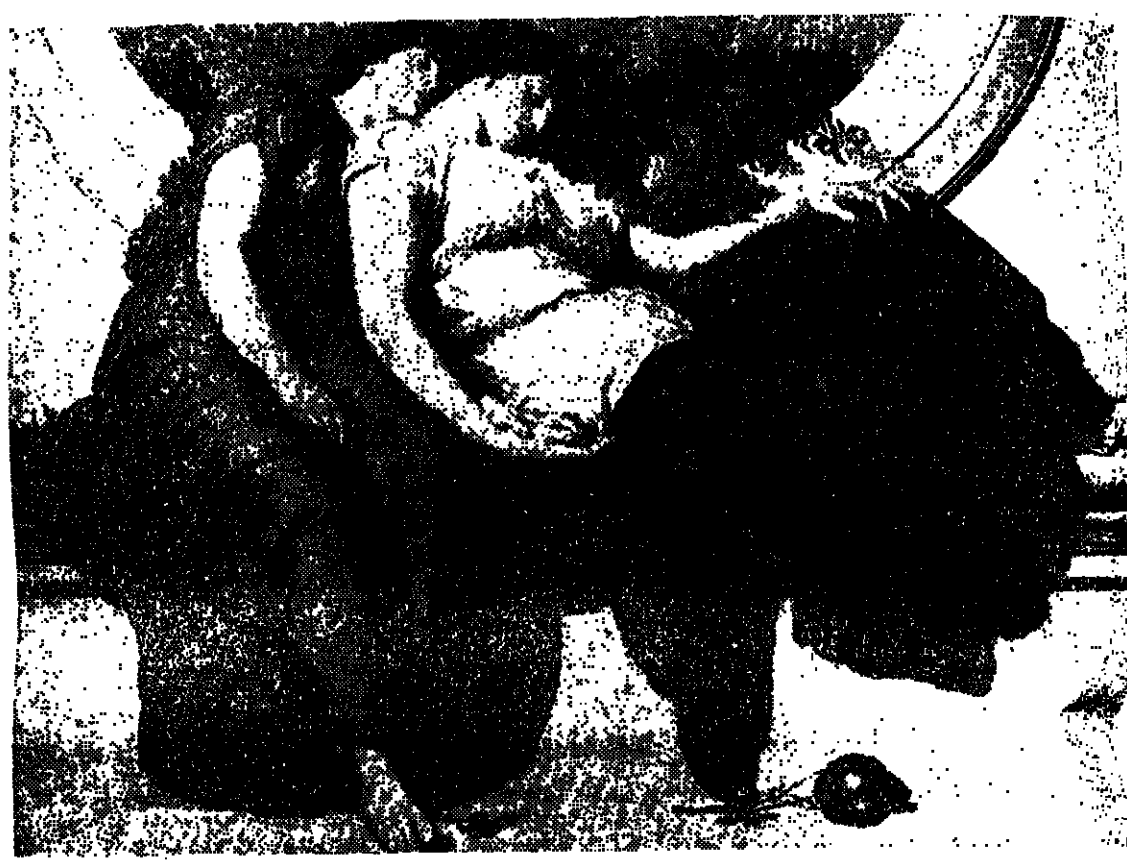
It is one of the many virtues of the Ormonds' book that they treat the development of the personality, both private and public, in some detail, so far as evidence allows; much has disappeared, so that the authors are greatly indebted, as they acknowledge, to Mrs Russell Barrington's two-volume biography of 1906, hitherto indispensable. On the other hand, they have brought to bear on their subject much new material, including unpublished documents, and a remarkable range

of reference in published memoirs that they have assembled and put to good use. All in all, Leighton the public figure receives what must be a conclusive definition. In the process, our knowledge of Leighton the man is very much extended, and the character, hitherto too lightly damned, begins to emerge as something much more complex, interesting and undoubtedly sympathetic. Behind the carefully built-up public persona with its distance and frigidity was a man of passion and nervous instability.

To the network of Leighton's closest relationships with his family and friends (particularly Mrs Sartoris and Dorothy Dene) they devote an unbiased, unemotional and, for post-Freudian times, reasonable exposition which is much more convincing than the oversimplified implications of the "gay" world-view. They record the friendship between Leighton and other artists, however different their aims and views—this included guarded respect from Rossetti and varying phases of amity with Whistler. Also described is the relationship with the Prince of Wales (later Edward VII), one mark of which was the prince's appointment for Leighton to be president of the Academy. The coincidence in time between the opening of the Whistler versus Ruskin libel trial, at which Leighton was to appear on Whistler's behalf (a point that should have received more emphasis), and Leighton's election as president of the Royal Academy—twelve days separate the two events—must on the evidence presented make the summons to Whistler that prevented Leighton from testifying an coincidence at all.

There remains, of course, the problem of Leighton the artist: as Whistler commented to a lady despatching on Leighton's linguistic, critical and musical accomplishments: "Paints too, don't he?" The authors provide a valuable catalogue of Leighton's oil paintings, which concentrates on essential information such as dates, provenance, and present location (where known), and is backed up by very good, comprehensive selection of illustrations. Some do not slightly sometimes: Cleobolus and Cleobolus appear as Cleobolus and Cleobolus, Faidica as Faidica in both catalogue and text, and a location for "Ripha" given as untraced, has been published in Nikolaus Pevsner's *North Devon* (1952), page 165.

The discussion of the works is perhaps not quite as confident or as far-reaching as the treatment of the man. The place of classical themes in Leighton's work and how their treatment develops is well set out, especially the interesting relationship between Leighton and Browning in this context during the 1860s. But apart from a couple of general remarks, the possibly crucial relationship with the work of Albert Moore is not really gone into at all. The authors note that Leighton acquired two Moore



Summer Moon, by Lord Leighton, painted about 1872. In the Art Journal at the time, a parallel was drawn between this picture and the Sistine Chapel frescoes.

works in 1866; what they do not observe is that one was Moore's sketch for "Somnus", which can serve for both artists as virtual prototype for thirty years of figures in varying states of repose. (Did they keep their models passive the way Leighton subdued the pigeons in "Summer Slumber" with bread soaked in brandy and water?—an anecdote not included.) Leighton's colouring, too, which he felt passionately about, and one of the features of his work that sets him apart from the mass of Victorian painters, is not really dealt with overall as thoroughly as it should be. While the authors do justice to the colouring in certain works, especially later ones (e.g. "Captive Andromache" 1868), they are not really specific about when and how this distinctive feature arose, nor as to the degree to which it is necessary to distinguish between what they describe as the warm, resonant Venetian colouring of "Cleobolus" and the cooler, more restrained colouring of "Ripha".

The authors certainly do justice, though, to the brilliance of Leighton's colour sketches and the limpidity of his landscapes, to his amazing collection of works by other artists (e.g. Corot, Delacroix) and at times perceptive practical patronage of younger artists (e.g. Alfred Gilbert, Aubrey Beardsley). Moore—a passion for colour, an emphasis on objective composition, even a preference for figures of Jovian build. Both men came from a particular, distinctive stock, in this sense being both Victorian and modern.

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artistic credo that present-day students cannot recognize.

This is probably an unjust claim; the authors have made a major contribution to the study of nineteenth-century art in just as far as they do in reassessing a major figure. As Leighton emerges from cold storage, one begins to wonder whether there could be a single key to the problem of the man and the artist, the mixture of intensity and reserve. The Ormonds I think provide a (without realizing as much) a describing Leighton's ancestry, in many respects Leighton had much in common with another period, self-effacing Victorian artist, Albert Moore—a passion for colour, an emphasis on objective composition, even a preference for figures of Jovian build. Both men came from a particular, distinctive stock, in this sense being both Victorian and modern.

Directions for decoration

By MaryAnne Stevens

ALPHONSE MUCHA:
Lectures on Art
A Supplement to "The Graphic Work of Alphonse Mucha"
80pp. Academy Editions. £5.95.

Decoration governed by rules and the wayward curves of Art Nouveau, yet Alphonse Mucha, one of Art Nouveau's leading designers, propounds in his *Lectures on Art* a set of principles controlling the invention and application of decoration. This enables the designer to create within the apparent freedom of Art Nouveau a beauty which Mucha argued was based upon those principles underlying all great works of art.

Mucha is not a rigorous theoretician and definitional confusions are encountered in the first two paragraphs of the opening lecture. None the less, during the course of his eight lectures, he does develop a fairly convincing theory of decoration. He bases this theory upon two objective standards: Nature and Stupidity. Nature determines the two components of decoration, line and the arrangement of compositional elements. The visual form created by these two components is determined by the artist's need to provide the spectator with a visually agreeable sensation—one of Mucha's touchstones of beauty. Line must therefore be sinuous rather than straight and compositional elements must conform to the proportional rule of 3:2 found in all objects in nature.

The theory for applying line and compositional elements to an object,

be it a poster or a brooch, is based upon Stupidity. Decoration cannot exist for its own sake; it must express the character, material and purpose of the object in question. Using a bookcover as an example, Mucha lists its distinguishing features as the binding along the spine, flat front and back cover boards, and a title. In decorating this object, the artist must emphasize these three primary qualities through harmony of line, colour and compositional elements.

Mucha's *Lectures on Art* are of interest not only because they invite comparisons with the writings of his fellow Art Nouveau designers such as Henri van de Velde, but also because they confirm the importance of the two artistic sources of Art Nouveau which came together in Brussels during the opening years of the 1890s. On the one hand, there was the decorative style of the French Symbolists, and on the other, the non-representational, Japanese-inspired style of Gauguin and his circle. The former influence is reflected in Mucha's emphasis upon nature as the source of truth and all artistic rules; and in his belief that sincere achievement through art can only be achieved through a perfect equation between function, form and material.

The influence of Gauguin is less obvious. Gauguin's conscious attempt during the closing years of the 1880s to create non-naturalistic painting was the product of artistic anarchy; all rules were overturned and the artist's right to distort nature according to his personal evaluation of the specific needs of the idea which he wished to express. In Gauguin's work, this led to a greater emphasis being laid upon the purely abstract or decorative qualities of line and colour,

which became the characteristic of Mucha's own style. This rejection of all rules governing the creation and evaluation of a work of art was to prove too difficult for several of Gauguin's followers, notably Sérusier, Denis and Emile Munch. These three artists, however, were not so much theoreticians as Gauguin; they had governed all great styles of art. Therefore, while one can see sources of Mucha's style in the anarchy of Gauguin's work, he, too, like Gauguin, reacted against anarchy by establishing a system based upon three criteria.

The *Lectures on Art* are a manuscript which Mucha dictated in 1933, many years after his death. It is a collection of his lectures, which he, too, like Gauguin, reacted against anarchy by establishing a system based upon three criteria. The *Lectures on Art* are a manuscript which Mucha dictated in 1933, many years after his death. It is a collection of his lectures, which he, too, like Gauguin, reacted against anarchy by establishing a system based upon three criteria.

The picture-merchant

By Celina Fox

JEREMY MAAS:
Gambart
Prince of the Victorian Art World
320pp. Barrie and Jenkins. £8.50.

"I... heard a shrewd man, well acquainted with picture selling, remark that from his experience it took two horse dealers to make one picture-dealer." John Calcott Horsley's dig, quoted by Jeremy Maas, reflects that distrust of the middle-man not entirely removed from the art and motor trades today. It is not only the reserve jobs that make the analogy particularly apt, but a certain chat and charm of manner employed to dispose of dubious stock fast. This biography of Gambart exposes part of the mechanics as well as the veneer of the Victorian art world.

Ernest Gambart was born in Belgium in 1814, the son of a book-seller. He first set up a kind of stationery business in Paris, but after the conviction of his father for fraud in 1839, he came to England as an agent for the Goupils, the Parisian print and picture dealers. Mr Maas painstakingly retraces the steps in Gambart's climb to success. He began to deal in prints on his own account, then in pictures, at the same time staging exhibitions to introduce an indifferent public to the contemporary French art. It was with Rosa Bonheur's large work "The Horse Fair" that he created his first sensation, shown in his Pall Mall gallery during the summer of 1855. Gambart drew enormous crowds when it travelled the country. The following year, neatly timed to coincide with the announcement of the sale of the artist on a scale to be envied by the most energetic publicity manager. Following a round of parties in London and a visit to Gauguin's country place at Westham near Windsor, there was a triumphal progress through the great provincial cities. A tour of the Scottish Highlands, vividly described by Maas, evidently produced enough material in the way of livestock and landscape studies to keep him busy for twenty years and for Gambart to more than triple his outlay.

His speculations on the home market were no less successful; virtually every well-known example of High Victorian painting passed through his hands at least once. He took a half share in Frith's "Derby Day", confident of profiting on his copy of £2,500 for the copyright and exhibition rights after the picture had been mobbed at the Royal Academy. He bought "The Finding of Christ in the Temple" from Holman Hunt for 5,500 guineas, an unheard-of price, calculated by Hunt and Dickens on the basis of the artist's expenses over six years and the purchaser's likely profits. It proved to be an underestimate: Gambart made £4,000 in shilling exhibition fees, £5,000 in profit on the engraving and managed to sell the picture for £1,500. Having acquired the copyright of "The Light of the World" by the same artist for £200, he made £8,000 clear in the first year of its publication as an engraving, which turned out to be the most successful he ever issued. In general, his policy was to buy cheap and sell dear the works of relatively obscure artists. Then, as the English were more impressed by high prices than high art, their value was raised in the eyes of the public to the mutual benefit of both artist and dealer. Even Rossetti, albeit tardily, reaped some reward from what he termed "more market-metres, the lucky lifts of a dealer's ingenuity".

Gambart realized the publicity value of conspicuous largesse, of constant spectacle. He staggered the hanging of pictures in his exhibitions to ensure continuous critical attention and took good care to be on friendly terms with Eastlake and Ruskin, the most influential critics of his day. With his keen eye for the Victorian art trade, Gambart, like other dealers in modern work, sold pictures to rich manufacturers and engravings to the middle classes. For the artist, the dealer was an agent who allowed him to work in peace, uninterrupted by hesitant prospective buyers and largely untroubled by difficult financial decisions. As many discovered when attempting to go it alone, the lack of deadlines and problem of translating their work into realistic cost/time benefit terms led to disaster. The purchaser, on the other hand, did not have to cope with the vagaries of artistic temperament and was reassured by the dealer as to the soundness of his aesthetic and financial judgment.

The question inevitably arises: how positive was the contribution Gambart made to the course of nineteenth-century art? Since the ascendancy of the Boydell style, previous century, dealers had been accused of merely wanting "to follow, flatter, and degrade, not to lead, exalt, and refine" public taste. If we believe the glittering dealer should combine a fine critical appreciation of art with commercial hardheadedness, then Gambart from this account appears to have been more conspicuously endowed with the latter talent.

He bought, quite simply, what he was likely to sell for a profit. It is clear that this could lead to slipshod work. He took unfinished pictures away from John Linnell, admitting later "we were [sic] both anxious to make money as fast as possible". He forwarded up every possible lead but was unable to find the memoirs Gambart was busy writing at the end of his career. Given the perfunctory official form of many such efforts of the period, one can be forgiven about their ability to reveal the inner man. However, with no family reminders and few recollections by friends to fall back on, Mr Maas refrains from speculating at length about the private motivations of his subject. Furthermore, he is wary of assessing the significance of Gambart's career in a wider context, which could have helped to give the book a greater sense of perspective.

When Gambart first arrived in England, the occupation of dealer was not even a well-defined trade. Let alone a respected profession. Colnaghi's had been mixed up in pyrotechnics, Agnew's in frames and furniture making; both dealt in scientific instruments on the side. Louis Victor Flatow, Gambart's main rival in the 1860s, was a Jewish illustrate whose previous careers had ranged from the sale of fraudulent old masters to the practice of chiropody. He claimed he could manipulate any customer: "You must walk round 'em as a cooper walks round a tub." In the wake of these blatant deceptions, the deception implicating Francis Graham Moon, the leading City prize-seller, a meeting of artists in 1842 poured abuse on the "grovelling rat like traders" of the art world. They were, together with horse dealers, "the most unmitigated rogues in existence".

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The sudden royal commands, the obsequious dedications and titled subscription lists gloss over the real direction of the Victorian art trade. Gambart, like other dealers in modern work, sold pictures to rich manufacturers and engravings to the middle classes. For the artist, the dealer was an agent who allowed him to work in peace, uninterrupted by hesitant prospective buyers and largely untroubled by difficult financial decisions. As many discovered when attempting to go it alone, the lack of deadlines and problem of translating their work into realistic cost/time benefit terms led to disaster. The purchaser, on the other hand, did not have to cope with the vagaries of artistic temperament and was reassured by the dealer as to the soundness of his aesthetic and financial judgment.

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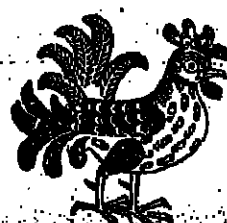
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The self-obsessed agony

By Richard Calvocoressi

ALESSANDRA COMINI:
Egon Schiele's Portraits
271pp and 335 illustrations. University of California Press, £40.

In the preface to her book, Alessandra Comini acknowledges the "wonderful readiness of both my parents to make the far-off, long-dead Egon Schiele as much a part of their lives as the life of their own." One wonders whether the Comini elders had bargained for the extraordinary character of their uninvited guest. Mental and physical illness, masturbation, male and female homosexuality, incest, exhibitionism, masochism and death: these are some of the themes which informed the feverish art of this highly strung Viennese Expressionist. It is a gallery of horrors and one puts down Professor Comini's weighty study of the artist's portraits with relief. For the author has left no stone unturned in her attempt to chronicle the stages in Schiele's brief, tragic career. Her book is more than a chronicle, though: she argues persuasively that Schiele's intense personal life was, in true Romantic Agony fashion, his art, and vice versa.

Schiele was probably the most self-obsessed artist there has ever been: he drew and painted himself more times than even Rembrandt, and the total portrait oeuvre can be read as a protracted exercise in self-psychanalysis. Even—or especially—in his portraits of other people, he would project his own physical features as well as his simulated or real emotional states. Art was not necessarily a therapeutic activity for him—something which Professor Comini perhaps does not sufficiently emphasize: it may have stimulated further the

need to act out his fantasies in front of his full-length mirror, pencil and paper in hand. In this respect it comes almost as a surprise to learn that, unlike so many of his Viennese contemporaries, Schiele did not commit suicide, or even contemplate it as far as one can gather, but reached some sort of equilibrium in his last, married years: a comparatively healthy normality is reflected in his beautiful, haunting painting of 1917, "The Family", at once private and universal in its allegorical implications.

Schiele's urge to expose himself, to scream his trauma aloud, which took the form of hundreds of raw, surgically accurate images of his own, often naked, body, in lurid colours and assuming a variety of roles—frustrated adolescent, inmate, Christ, schizophrenic, lover, and finally, husband—is partly explained by Professor Comini in terms of what she calls the "Expressionist shift from façade to psyche".

That, at least, is the rather grandiose and cryptic title her introductory chapter—the weakest in an otherwise admirable book. Here some of the author's remarks, inspired by the notion of a "collective cultural psyche", give little insight into the complex and ambiguous nature of this housewife's final years of Imperial Vienna, nor do they set up a context for a useful discussion of Schiele's vision of man, so different from the "primitive man" of contemporary German Expressionism.

But these are minor criticisms. The author's specific allusions are more pertinent. Greater use could perhaps have been made of Karl Kraus's indignation at the sexual hypocrisy of Viennese high society, but it is good to have quoted his description of Vienna as an "isolation cell in which one is allowed to scream"—a verbal equivalent for many of Schiele's portraits and an apt metaphor for his social and psychological status as an artist. Otto Weininger, author of *Sex and Character*, and the playwright Frank Wedekind, who contributed to Kraus's *Journal (Die Fackel)*, are rightly drawn into the debate. Infatuate and adolescent sexuality was a vital imaginative source for Schiele, and his Kokoschka-Kraus-Schiele triangle is convincing. So too is her diagnosis of Schiele's autoeroticism, though it is perhaps not stressed enough that he was scarcely out of his teens when he began to depict what he called the "horrible" side to himself. But in general the book is a precious addition to the now growing Schiele library. (Otto Kalir, Rudolf Lepp, etc., empty for so long,

although at its price it is unlikely to be within range of many. The juxtaposition of illustrations is thoroughly illuminating and the photographs themselves are of a high standard. One, however, must have gone astray during production: the promised photograph of Karl Kraus is nowhere to be seen. The final page shows a poignant photograph of Schiele at peace after the ravages of Spanish influenza—the one self-portrait he would never paint.

Reservations about Egon Schiele's portraits are purely personal. They have nothing to do with the quality of scholarship involved, which is first-rate. They concern the relentless way in which Professor Comini examines the convulsions and contortions of Schiele's artistic and psychological development.

In her discussion of Schiele Professor Comini has picked up something of this X-ray gaze of the artist's. There was undoubtedly a perverse quality about Schiele's unmasking of himself and his subjects—angular, puppet-like figures often, helpless in the chair or on the couch, threatened by a surrounding existential blankness which is the artist's merciless way of throwing into relief the inner life of his sitter. But the author prefers to remain detached: she ignores the fact that, for many people, Schiele's pictures are distinctly alienating in their perverse shock tactics, although his great aggressive linear energy, who used colour in an equally bold way—cannot be denied.



Egon Schiele: a self-portrait from *The Art of Egon Schiele* by Edwin Mitchell (268pp including 80 colour plates and 76 monochrome illustrations. Oxford: Phaidon, £20).

An appetite for Paris

FRANCIS E. HYSLOP:

Henri Evenepoel
Belgian Painter, in Paris 1892-1899
148pp and 1 colour and 50 black-and-white illustrations. Fennell-Varia State University Press, £9.

Had Pissarro died in 1908 at twenty-seven, he would still be remembered as an innovator, "Les Desmousses d'Avignon" safely rolled up in his studio to leave an unforgettable impression. Had Matisse died in 1898 at twenty-seven, we should not have heard of him. Matisse learnt slowly how to be sure of himself, and was still, in the year of his death, the "apron string" of Gustave Moreau's Ecole des Beaux-Arts. In 1899 the Belgian painter Henri Evenepoel actually did die at the age of twenty-seven. He was a friend of Matisse, also a pupil of Moreau, but, though not possessed of as hurrying a talent as Pissarro's, he had done enough to be remem-

bered. Francis E. Hyslop's readable account of his life and work, with his judicious selection of illustrations, is a worthwhile attempt to widen awareness of Evenepoel's achievement.

It is ironic that in the details of Belgium's most influential aesthetic invention of modern times—Art Nouveau—Evenepoel should have been formed by Paris. As Hector Guimard, Jean Béraud, Tassel, and others learnt from Toulouse-Lautrec and Pierre Bonnard in Paris, Like Pissarro in the early 1900s, he was an omnivorous eclectic, and his youthful response to the visual temptations offered by Paris can be set against that of Pissarro a few years later with illuminating results. There is the same appetite for the Parisian scene as a subject, the same refusal to stay stylistically still, and at times the images produced by the young Evenepoel are distinctly comparable to Pissarro's.

Evenepoel led a more obedient life than Pissarro, a freewheeling bohemian, but both were young

Clay Picassos

By Ruth Kaufmann

GEORGES RAMIE:
Picasso's Ceramics
Translated by Kenneth Lyons.
292pp and 759 illustrations. Sackler and Warburg, £18.

Even the confirmed Picassophile has probably long ago conceded (if he has bothered to think about it at all) that the artist's ceramics represent something less than the high point of his creative achievement. This compendium of the few important contributions from this vast production has been made more difficult by the quality of the illustrations. The fact that they are on the same shiny paper as the text with many of the pieces photographed in "living colour" in outdoor settings makes the whole reminiscent of nothing so much as a holiday brochure. How different is the appearance of some of these works in Georges Bloch's catalogue of Picasso's printed ceramics. The situation is further aggravated by the text itself which is mystical, pretentious and often incomprehensible. At first the problem seems to be one of bad translation. Soon, however, one begins to wonder whether the translator, realising the impossibility of his task,

decided that the only solution to stay as close to the original as possible. In this, one supposes, he has succeeded admirably. For, for instance, there is a strictest continuity in the work of Picasso's art despite some surprising episodes.

In this we find an essential tude—voluntary or unconscious—acquired or conceived—that real value inasmuch as it constitutes a personal system of a universal force that through the universe of a vision. A universe built up of this prophetic reality of a social perception with the reality of facts. The any of the sensibility, reflections eternally change space, over the preterit almost immutably. May of principles, disjointed, and complete at the own taste the barely known vision.

The sheer quantity of reproduced, however, allows us to ignore the text and concentrate on the quality of some of the colour plates, to judge for ourselves how Picasso extended art through the medium of sculpture. Certainly we would agree that the ceramicist's preoccupation with relief and sophisticated glazes, which do find, not surprisingly, in the area of sculpture—those works in which there is considerable modelling, printing—rather than in the might be called pure ceramic, we see the greatest wit and invention. The earliest pieces of the 1940s whose elemental form a strong reference to primitive, terracotta sculpture and then to recall Picasso's own work stick figures of the early 1900s. Both their shapes and their surfaces, however, give them a considerably more presence in earlier pieces. The importance of painting in adjacent to sculpture has been even more clearly seen in the early 1950s with small pieces of wit and some of those creatures whose strong anthropomorphic features were subsequently cast in bronze and, in some cases, in a more striking than their painted brethren.

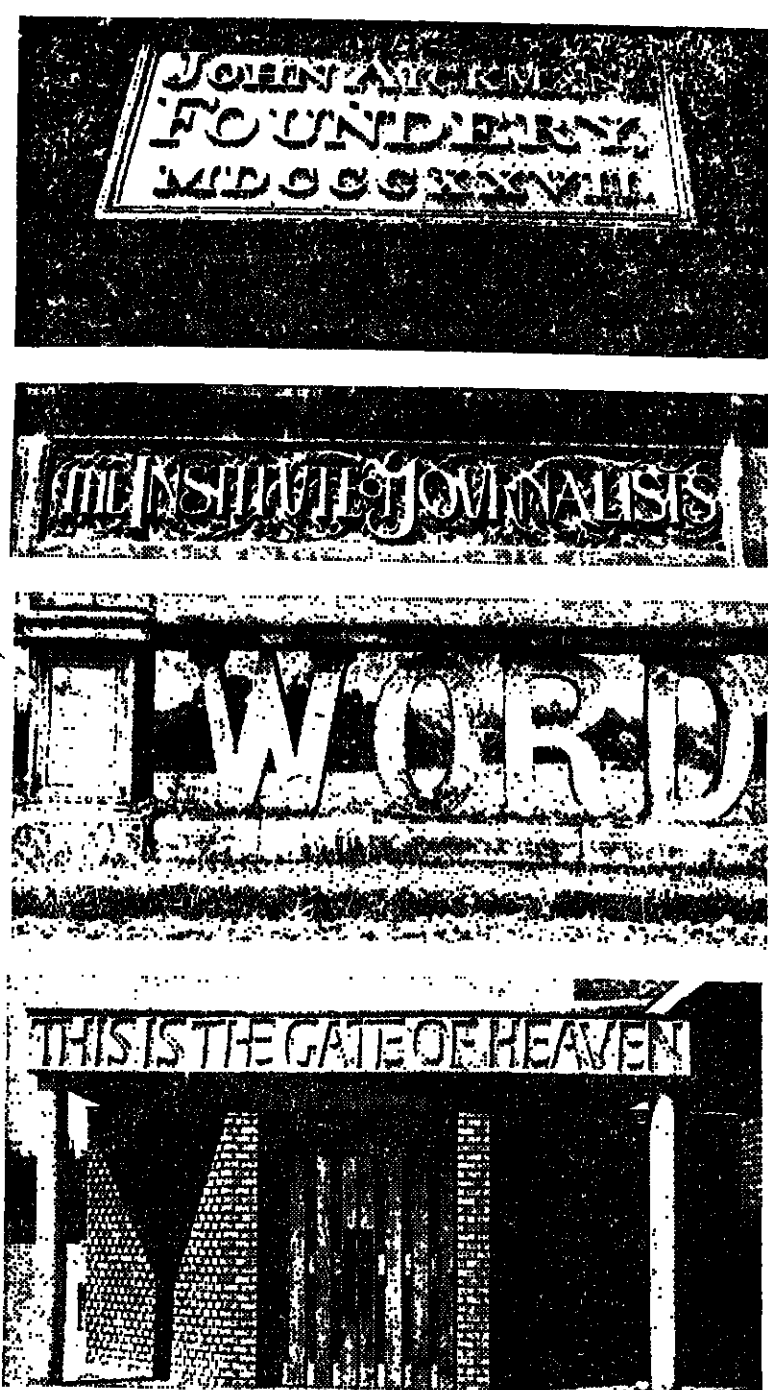
When, however, we move to the area of more conventional ceramics in standard shapes, Picasso's main contribution to surface painting, we find that painting for the most part enhances the ceramic more than it would some other medium.

Plates, platters and tiles constitute about nine tenths of Picasso's output, seem to be merely to have produced flat surface, very similar to the painting which produces a cut image. Only in a number of cases did he take advantage of the turn of the painted image and its form. Outstanding in this series are several in which the successful use of bullfight are depicted on the surfaces of the plates, transformed by the painter's imagination into a more complex, more expressive form.

Yet the example of Evenepoel's brief Parisian experience perhaps throws more light on Picasso's beginnings than any of his mature work. It is ironic that in the details of Belgium's most influential aesthetic invention of modern times—Art Nouveau—Evenepoel should have been formed by Paris. As Hector Guimard, Jean Béraud, Tassel, and others learnt from Toulouse-Lautrec and Pierre Bonnard in Paris, Like Pissarro in the early 1900s, he was an omnivorous eclectic, and his youthful response to the visual temptations offered by Paris can be set against that of Pissarro a few years later with illuminating results. There is the same appetite for the Parisian scene as a subject, the same refusal to stay stylistically still, and at times the images produced by the young Evenepoel are distinctly comparable to Pissarro's.

Evenepoel led a more obedient life than Pissarro, a freewheeling bohemian, but both were young

Christopher Green



Examples of architectural typography from the wide variety in Alan Barratt's *Lettering in Architecture*.

To the letter

By Osbert Lancaster

ALAN BARRATT:
Lettering in Architecture
276pp and 284 plates. Lund Humphries, £9.50.

Few arts demonstrate so effectively as typography the truth of that once popular assertion that the medium is the message. Not many people are today aware of the alphabet's role in the wall of a provincial Mairie, but the typography employed at once arouses stirring memories of the canaille Desmoussins, of Lamartine, of Gambetta. Even for those who would be hard put to it to say what they stood for, the letters are a record over a ruined gateway still arouse echoes of Legionary triumph. In certain extreme cases the message may well be completely incomprehensible: the words "PATTO MICHANAI ZITTEP" stencilled on whitewashed walls, are unlikely to be understood by anyone, but even for those who do, the day's philhellene for whom they have always been totally incomprehensible they at once invoke the most powerful nostalgia.

While both learned and popular alike on typography are numerous, dealing with what, for want of a better term, we must call "disinterested" are few in number. In this respect, to accord *Lettering in Architecture* a warm welcome is not as if it were not more than adequate. The author has so strictly and so judiciously restricted his scope that he has achieved through the medium of a few painted strokes, metal cutouts ten years

in sign painters, whose fantastic productions are now, alas, fast vanishing, overwhelmed by the usual flood of uninspired, ill-proportioned and characterless sans-serif. How welcome would have been his views of the relationship between typography and religious bells, inquiry into why and how it is possible accurately to gauge the exact degree of evangelical fervour burning within by a close study of the typeface on the church notice-board.

In according *Lettering in Architecture* a hearty welcome one must at the same time express a lively hope that the author is not going to leave his subject at that. One looks forward to a massive volume covering the widest possible field; analysing the subtle typographical details which distinguish the various brands of political propaganda; drawing our attention to the social distinctions that so frequently find visible expression in the choice of typeface; and not disdaining to notice, and analyse, such exotica as the hopefully "oriental" lettering used to advertise Chu Chin Chow and Turkish delight.

Until the appearance of such a masterpiece we must rest content with Mr Barratt's book and very good it is. The illustrations are well-chosen, frequently unfamiliar and invariably informative. They also provide an admirable corrective to some preconceived ideas, demonstrating as they do the long overlapping of contrasting styles. Too frequently we tend to assume that the revival of Gothic killed Classicalism stone dead. But from them we now learn that the letter was still flourishing at a time when the Gothic themselves were going down before the advance guard of Art Nouveau.

Not only does this book add greatly to the knowledge of most of us, but it also adds a new dimension to the study of the "shortest" urban

Territorial authority

By J. Mordaunt Crook

JAMES MACAULAY:
The Gothic Revival
451pp. Blackie, £20.

There are two milestones in the history of the Gothic Revival: Ch. L. Eastlake's classic work of 1872, and Kenneth Clark's dazzling essay of 1928. Since then there have been biographies, monographs and articles galore, but no general history worthy the name. When I reviewed the book in 1974, I examined the early phases of the movement in the light of modern scholarship and concluded: "A few years from now... a history may well be possible for the first time. That is all the easier for James Macaulay's book is not a history of the Gothic Revival. It is a study of Gothic Revival buildings in Scotland between 1745 and 1845. As the title-page suggests an old publisher's trick: dressing up a PhD thesis for a wider market. But closer inspection of the contents suggests something rather more serious: perhaps the author actually thinks he has written a history of the Gothic Revival.

And well he might. After all, he has lived with the Goths for years. He has scanned the close print of *Gentleman's Magazine*; he has dug for treasure among Scottish family archives; he has visited dozens of Highland castles and scores of Border seats; he must have photographed innumerable battlements in the rain. Horace Walpole's "true rust of the barons' wars" has even corroded his prose style. "Necroscopic" will be understood by surgeons; "syncretic" by theologians. But only amateurs of "lingoes" and "mythemas" or, worse still, archaisms like "prose tude" and "obfuscate" (used predictably) or "decreet" and "cumprary" (misused substantially). Robert Adam's monument to David Hume is described as "a deliberate entasis of the philosophy which, inherited from Rome, was the prime motive force of Hume's own treatise". The author's taste is in the yard at Culzean is praised for its "swirl of baroque concatenation... in which emphasis is charged and recharged as space pulses across the terrace". Alan, Dr Macaulay claims kinship with the historian.

From the start he makes his northern viewpoint very clear. Now there is a great deal to be said for devolutionary history: regional typography, local history in the best sense, has a long and honourable tradition. Unfortunately Dr Macaulay's view seems to be not only to inform but to persuade. He is not content to gauge the exact degree of evangelical fervour burning within by a close study of the typeface on the church notice-board.

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But, amazingly, there is no mention of Dr Rowan's pioneering Cambridge thesis of 1965 on the castle style.

The two chapters on aesthetic theory are particularly thin. A northern perspective must inevitably underplay English theoreticians like Burke, Gilpin, Price and Knight. The whole landscape movement—Burke, Gilpin, Price and Knight, Brown and Rostrop—naturally receives short shrift. Much more surprising is the absence of Scottish aesthetes. Where is Lord Kames? Where is the Reverend Archibald Alison? Kames creeps in as an agrarian pundit of associationist thinking, is ignored altogether.

Then there is that old chestnut, the question of Gothic Survival and Gothic Revival. The author confuses the whole problem by failing to distinguish between Survival as a vernacular masonry tradition, and Revival as a self-conscious style based on stonework—that is, associational or environmental—criteria. He even manages to omit any mention of Colverson's famous article on this subject in the *Architectural Review* (1948).

Much of the book is taken up with the construction and significance of Inveraray Castle, Argyle, and Alnwick Castle, Northumberland. The author's account of Inveraray—a slow programme involving Roger Morris, Sir John Vanbrugh and Robert Mylne, as well as other members of the Adam family—is sound enough. But the details have already appeared elsewhere in a formidable book by Ian Lindsay and Mary Coslin (1973). As for the account of Alnwick's famous article on this subject in the *Architectural Review* (1948), it is a pity that the author has not underplayed recent research by Peter Leach, clarifying the contribution of James Paine and introducing another hand altogether: David Garrett. The author's account of Alnwick Castle's rococo Gothic reconstruction—and, equally important, its place in the context of Gothic Revival work in the north-east—has already appeared in an article (not mentioned here) in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* (1973).

Halfway through the book, however, the author at last gets into his stride. Towards the end of the eighteenth century he enters into the post-Adam, post-Wyatt world of regular and irregular castle design. Here his taste seems to be sure. James Playfair, John Adam, William Crichton, James and Archibald Elliot: the exploitation of the Adam inheritance at Melville, Monzie, Edinburg and Taymouth is sympathetically treated. And the picturesque precursors of Sir Walter Scott's Abbotsford each receive their due. So many of them have been demolished or dismantled. Tulloch, Craighead, Rossie, Craigmiles, Abercromby, Millemare, Lindisfarne, Inchmure, the catalogue of destruction is long and melancholy. "Craw, Friary" Dr Macaulay comments, "gathers into itself the calm virtues of the age of the eighteenth century entered architecture". Yes, but this group always looked best in silhouette than in detail. Like bays, they were best encountered at a distance in the mist. Perhaps even Sir Walter Scott would have agreed. Incl-

With William Burn—the four- or five- or six-story castle design brings his study to a close. The later development of what Robert Kerr called "The Scotch style" still awaits its historian. One of those who played a part in its genesis was Burn's master, Sir Robert Smirke. Smirke's castles are briefly discussed, notably Lowther, Eastnor and Kilauea. But much more information has long been available on that underestimated, amiable architect—beginning with an Oxford PhD thesis in 1961.

The strength of *The Gothic Revival* lies in its appendices. Macaulay has accumulated four chronological indexes of ecclesiastical and secular Gothic Revival buildings in Scotland and Northern England (i.e. Cumberland, Westmorland, Northumberland and Durham), begun between 1745 and 1845. By being some 700 separate buildings, the author has made a valuable contribution to British architectural history.

LOUIS I. KAHN

Romaldo Giurgola and Jaimini Mehta

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252pp, photographs, plans and drawings

220

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By Michael Podro

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yield artistic pleasure to us, and a certain way count for a norm for unattainable models." He suggests that we regard this passage as unexplained as it is by Marx's writing, and important in the context of his thought, and that the real issue in any case is not intrinsic merit of Greek art but entities it to be regarded as a model, but the way later writers have projected on to that art status of an ideal;

Marx, who ascribed the continuing fascination of Greek art

By George Steiner

MICHEL SERRES :
Esthétiques sur Curyapaco
144pp. Paris : Hermann.

Though the process is cumbersome, the best way to illustrate what Michel Serres is about is to quote a series of quotes. We look at his painting:

Les formes spatiales et chronologiques sont aussi munies d'un alphabet. Et nous éprouons le réconfort. Et nous aplombons lentement la carte linaire à plusieurs dimensions. Comme jadis, la pierre Rosette. Telle face, les choses dîtes. Et telle autre face, la traduction dans l'autre langue. C'est de leurs embûches que les mots de la langue française M'elles étaient, aussi, des emblèmes. Reste, alors, l'invariance sans fin. O'ù le déchiffrement.

But the painting, so far as it is a translation from linguistic, un-

est position dans un espace qualifié, dans ou sur tel des milieux ou mille espaces qualifiés, l' site, orientation, voisinage, finit et le complexe pullulant d' relations qui les assignent. L'espace fourmillé de sens, et l'homme pauvre de discours s'efforce à dominer cette forêt.

Language does not only fall short of what it is trying to say, but it is also the source of its perplexity and complexity. It is the source of its own incomprehensibility, and its significance by segmenting experience into often arbitrary and primitive things (the "algebra" of speech) it says paradoxically much poorer than the "geometry" of perception.)

Notre culture est un espace

ensemble d'espaces, de notre habitation, des nos gestes et de nos trajectoires. Le discours le rend les rend, parfois, problématiques à force, ou à faiblesse de linéarité. Il se perd dans le labyrinthe, dans le noué des sens. Le maître de ligne, il rend à l'espace les sens qu'il ne peut lui donner. L'espace, tout devint clair et lumineux, car tout se met en place. Sémigraphie en général. Notion de culture en tous les sens, tracés, le champ de nos esprits.

at once abstruse and innocent authority. But "seeing" too is a cumulative process, and the community of understanding depends on scrupulous generosity of acknow-

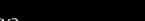
The second problem is fundamental. It is not the preciosity, the

opaqueness, the meta-mathematical pretensions of so much structuralist and semiotic writing which worries one (very difficult issues are, after all, being tackled by exceptionally subtle and impudent minds). It is the essentially exploitative stance, the use of a painting, literary text, ethnographic situation towards ends which are solipsistic. The Corpaccio

painting, the Du Bellay sonnet, the passage from Freud are the occasion of, the contingent platform for, immensely inflationary and narcissistic flights of discourse. There is a profound absence of disinterested-

ness, or submission to the autonomous integrity and even mystery of the object or phenomenon which is being "deciphered". In what ways would M. Serres's "semiology" apply only to Carpaccio or be inapplicable to, say, Mantegna or Vermeer? The appetite for normative universality which drives structural

ism almost rules out such queries. But they remain, as tenacious, as reticent of revelation as is every major and therefore singular work of art.



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aims to examine Constable's
scape and the aesthetic social
context of his work.
low, Short Course Unit, Poly-
technic Street, London W1. (Tel.

Notre culture est un espace, un ensemble d'espaces, de notre habitation, de nos gestes et de nos trames. La discourse le rend, les rend, parfois, problématique.

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A kind of resistance

By Klemens von Klemperer

LEONIDAS E. HILL. (Editor) :
Die Weizsäcker-Papiere 1933-1950
683pp. Berlin : Propyläen. DM 68.

vindication of Weizsäcker. The chief merit of the collection is that it gives a blow-by-blow account of the State Secretary's struggle, lending his life, which was not geared for greatness, at best a dimension of tragedy. At worst it gives us an insight into the privacy of his mind, more than his public functions ever did and more than his subsequent defence in court and his memoirs did, leaving this reviewer at least puzzled, indeed gasping.

It has been said of Weizsäcker that he was a singularly timid man; of course, he had to be "a past master of camouflage" (Namler), and he was certainly more so than Ulrich von Hassell was in his diaries and Himmelt von Moikow was in his letters. Thus when he wrote "one" (*man*) he generally meant Hitler; but it is not always at all clear whether his usage of "we" similarly referred to the Führer or whether he after all included himself. If this is so, his demand that he not be judged by

the documents but that the documents be judged by him must seem extravagant even to the historian who is ready to make allowances for camouflage. The problem of a Wetzicker exegesis is due not merely to precautions against the ever-present and watchful censor, but also to an often undecided and confused and troubled mind.

Weizsäcker repeatedly referred to his own kind of resistance, in contradiction to the one of the men of July 20, 1944, as "ongoing" resistance; it had a hidden quality, hidden understandably from the regime, but hidden no less from his agonized friends of the resistance (see in particular the break between Weizsäcker and Ulrich von Hassell in April 1942) and even from himself. It might be said that this was a resistance devoid of firm resolve and conviction. He was not alone among the men

connected with the resistance in the past, detecting a moral upswing in the Third Reich as late as 1937 he wrote: "The great social achievements of the Third Reich must be saved, even if much else should not be of duration." His resistance suffered not only from the weakness of the beginning, but also from the weakness of principle. He called for "dispassionate identification with any method" with which he identified the "old school of the Austriacities Amt" to the "revolutionary rule of brutal force". His opposition then, it might be argued, was primarily one over method.

A letter dated July 25, 1936 reads: "What happens in Spain . . . leads, one would hope, towards a thorough military dictatorship." Another letter dated July 16, 1937, "where there is no such strain about the subject," proclaims the cause of the "Barracks haushausplatz where the War was organized, that we disturb Austria's Independence" . . . after "that Austria: . . .".

Vienna is indeed the most significant date since January 18, 1871. To see the Austrian cavalrymen defeat together with our troops to their . . . and then the proclamation of the balcony of the Hofburg are impressions which I would have

wished upon you all." Weizsäcker's cherished formula for the "chemical dissolution" of Czechoslovakia was not exactly fitting for an apostle of peace, nor was his threat late in August 1939 to have Poland "eradicated" lest it yield to German provocations. These samples suffice to suggest that, at best, a blanket indictment of Weizsäcker helps very little to explain the peculiar predicament in which he found himself. A white-washing would hardly do justice to his historical profile. His genuine efforts to maintain peace, or rather to pro-

The clash is in effect one between two forms of imperialism. However,

due that followed Long Ton scored a direct hit on the Grand Hotel, killing Labram as he was dressing for dinner: Captain Léon was wounded severely by a bullet through his head as he stood with Villebois—who had his monocle in his eye—on the platform of their gun.

The Boers, meanwhile, kept stalling on Villebois's assault plan. "They are always having to deliberate with a neighbour," he complained in his diary, "and it is only when the neighbour who refuses to march, I consider, therefore, that my plan is ruined."

Before this Kimberley episode Villebois had done his damndest to persuade the Boers to attack Ladysmith, too, but he could not budge them there either. They mistrusted his judgment, it seems, and his fever to attack.

Villebois had no staff, no formal command, and moved about more or less as he pleased. He designed for himself his uniform, including a felt hat bought in Paris and turned up on one side, Australian style, and a cane and leather gloves added to the usual revolver, bandolier, field-glasses and the rest.

colonial

would it have occurred to Marx that there was much to choose (as far as the proletariat was concerned) between whether one was exploited by foreign capitalists or by native capitalists. On the other

by native capitalists. On the other hand, Marx saw that capitalism was proving very difficult to establish in relatively settled countries such as India or even in empty con-

tinents such as Australia, Marx did not explicitly state that this might be due to the self-interest of the metropolis. At best it was the difficulty of transplanting the social relations of production—the wage-labour system—to ground which had not been prepared by history.

The Marxist discussion of imperialism starts with Lenin. The central importance attached to Lenin's pamphlet owes however as much to the author's later success in the sphere of political theory as to its analytical merits. One could even say with Professor Kierland that as a canonical text *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* has been "more useful than to foster research." It has certainly distracted attention from the much more theoretical work of Bukharin and Rosa Luxemburg. By concealing the author's own feelings, Lenin produced a major ambiguity into the concept of imperialism as used by Marxists.

Imperialism can be looked at as political control or sovereignty over one territory over others. Within this definition—let us call it *vertical imperialism*—one should distinguish between colonialism (as in Africa, Asia and Latin America) (Wolfe) and imperialism (as in North America, Australia) since the latter element of racial or cultural disparity between the rulers and the ruled is present in the former case only. But in a capitalist system of international relations, the latter is also dependent but unequally developed. The economic and political control of trade and investment can also be used to capture markets and gain economic advantage by one nation over another. Such examples as the

inflow of French capital into the Soviet Union. The Russian Revolution was analysed in Marxist terms. To Lenin, this process was also the process of the birth of a new type of imperialism, a sort of "horizontal imperialism" that directly political and economic "co-ordination" of the national version. National imperialism was thus irrelevant. The question of what we have called vertical and horizontal imperialism on the same model, Lenin's essay also directed the more recent conception of neo-colonialism, where even without national independence, the economic relationship is of a vertical imperialist nature. It is not surprising that Professor Kierman's uncompromising honesty that he does not share any of these difficulties. He is not blinded by Lenin's formulae.

There is in his book a very sympathetic discussion of other writers, especially of the now fashionable Kautsky. Kautsky con-

after he had disregarded
tion that the British had
force in the town of Boshof,
killed while resting on a
(hillock) five miles outside
town.

Thus the International was almost stillborn. Foreign fought on resolutely and energetically, but under no unified command and with great loss. The survivors of the Boer War were taken as prisoners of war, but soon were shipped to their home countries. He been surprised to find that the Boers were not so much shocked that they felt more at home with their captors as had done with the Boers. This was because of the long monition in Europe, the sense of blessing from the sense of relief, families, place.

Britain won that war, but in the course of time, over the next 10 years, it was the ~~sons and the~~ descendants who ~~won the~~ political aims, as if there had been no war. The foreign nations who took their side, ~~despite~~ though they must have been in time, did not ride over the winners.

in the last quarter of the twentieth century. The difficulty of explaining the mechanisms of national transfers of economic plus besets neoclassical economics, state, more other the of easy matter

theory, neo-Keynesian theory, and even the more limited problem of conversion of surplus value into profits was left in a highly unsatisfactory state; only the chaotic and mainly unfruitful understanding of the arm's length mathematical models, as well as the formulation of the problem of a logically satisfactory, simple and convincing distribution here has been by non-Marxists. It was called, Hilferding, whose aim was to bring the classic confusion but his concept of Burdick is only a partial solution due to Marx's system of interlocking spheres is still being done. While there is a lot of concern about a Marxist theory of unequal exchange, none of Marx's own work can.

Professor Klevian is not the Vedic accumulator but a historian on the task of providing a guide to his Marxist theory of interest. The transfer of economic control from hands to hands is a theme that provides a good historical substitute for the missing structural studies India, the classic of the voracious imperialism and its own peculiarities, not only the elements of Spengler's massive mercantilist Imperialism though a stagnant follower in industrial capitalism. In the of India, the reason for the political expedient of the Congress Party, of the Indian nation itself, a fascinating picture described by Professor Klevian in this book. He also notes that the United States is not a country about their imperialist notes.

Professor Kurihara, that whereas some ironical allusions are scattered in the pages of Marx's, Engels' and Lenin's writings, the polemical objections in France and India were "primary". Professor Kiernan does not occasionally surrender the reader's belief; in explaining Marx's meaning for example, only talk of the Sopranos. Acquiring a trade union, even takes too seriously the theory of Marx and Engels. The book is made up of high-caste Hindus, and India's older armies were mostly of horsemen. Their help construct a class and the "Bogey" of the masses, their factual accuracy is to be doubted. Such lapses are very rare. Professor's essays reflect, that interesting special work are required to enrich Marxist studies in Britain.

A kind

By Kler

and a protestation that his own work "had consisted of pure policy obstruction". Sir Namier, in a now famous (TLS, June 1, 1951), laudicrously indiscreet attack on Weizsäcker, the "compromiser" who first "helped the way for Hitler" and then covered up for him. Sir John deBennett followed suit in his *Is of Power*, charging that former State Secretary's conduct in the Nuremberg proceedings offering resistance to Hitler was extravagant, indeed dishonest, and that, if he had been loyal to Hitler's and Ribbentrop's policies of aggression, it was the same reason that many high-ranking German officers, political, and had been loyal to them—because of the

detectors of Weizsäcker at
have taken us into the heart
the problem: did Weizsäcker
note with the forces of evil
he oppose them? However,
question thus put is too blunt,
crude, and their answer too
They have failed to scruti-
efficiently the possibilities and
ture of resistance in a totali-
setting like that of Nazi

ny. Mr. Kordt, in the German Office Weizsäcker's "closest adviser," who was—except again for Kordt—"Resisters after the fashion," *History Today*, 1 June 1964—a man of unquestionable integrity and determination to make his country free of the dictatorship, has pressed himself to this proposal: "The opposition is tradi-

state is not comparable to action in a state based on law," people he who spent the years to 1938 at the London embassy in London observe that the policy of foreign policy was for himself to have acted correctly and wisely towards "ranny of Hitler". But inside the problems were more serious. Accepting the fact that the "resistance" movement did not produce "pro-revolutionaries" the fact is capable that resistance and liberation, which offhand seem to be the most natural and convenient tools for historians, tend to lose their force. There were all too many in Germany of collaboration evil, of unbridled brutality, of the kind of resistance and opposition. Most of those who did do so, indeed had to do so, within the establishment, some from Trotz to Solz even the party, in order to have

activities. Weislicker, while not belonging, according to his own statement, to "Resistance-circles in the sense" was nevertheless connected with it, and was one of those who put out the order to oppose. It was Generalid Back who was one of those who chose the way of resistance, shifting roles from the role of a "resistant" to that of a "chief of staff" of the "resistance," who pleaded with Weislicker to stay in office since in his capacity he could work for the "resistance." Weislicker had never worked for peace, to be tried to block step by step the "resistance" and Ribbentrop's aggressive war was Weislicker's conscious aim. He was a man of the type of a Jew Hitler. I served an idea, was, as is well known, the "resistance of peace." But this decision was a step from within to resist the "resistance." Weislicker was in Mages, Weislicker's appearance at Nuremberg was undoubtedly exposed Weislicker as a "resistant" and a serious inner conflict and ambiguity.

recently edited *Weizsäcker: 1933-1950*, consisting of diary entries, selected summaries and random notes, do give a clear-cut answer to the Weizsäcker problem. Leonidas E. has succeeded admirably in putting these papers in the context of the very latest literature on the history of the Nazi era and its resistance;

while they expose beyond doubt the ideological obsessions of his chief detractor Namier, the harshness of Weizsäcker's position; they do not, the notwithstanding, justify a full

Welszacker was always of a tired foreign servant school rather than that encouraged man of principle. He was more ribbent by the law, in his diabolical advantage of viduality and political commitment which his secretary lacked.

He is losing battle, if it can be such, with the Nazi regime, nor Welszacker went through a series of plagues. The first one, he used to Munich, was by the familiar symptom of abortion in order to prevent. In fact, Munich seemed the vindication of Welszacker's policy and not the triumph; it was, as Welszacker before the Nuremberg court, not happy day of my life."

an assessment of the Munich a was indeed out of time the the Munich police chief, rti Goerdeler and Ewald von rchmizern, had taken pains the a British Foreign Office yield to Hitler, and also with rger protégés in the Foreign ike the brothers Korad, the e people whom Nemecz had eaders after the event," who ew that Munich did not mean

Munich Weizsäcker was d in a continuous duel with mentally deranged "superior," he noted down, the Third e be destroyed for his sake? e then that in his unbrotherly went into action, committing the e countess Marion Dönhoff e the Munich police chief, rti Goerdeler and Ewald von rchmizern, had taken pains the a British Foreign Office yield to Hitler, and also with rger protégés in the Foreign ike the brothers Korad, the e people whom Nemecz had eaders after the event," who ew that Munich did not mean

and peace". He took upon himself the task of "continuously leading the members of the resistance to actual facts abroad and the propaganda of German foreign policy". Indeed, in June 1933, he was one of the first to send via his friend Carl Burckhardt the letter to the British Foreign Office to maintain an "absolute silence" towards the Germans. He systematically staffed important posts abroad, in particular at the Legation in Bern, where he became a member of the Foreign Office members, and in the Legation of the Reichswehr in Bern, where he was assisted by von Nositz, who was devoted to the resistance. But it was he to be added that while von Nositz called attention to the danger of going to war the Polish Legation, Torquise was Weissacker's man, who he chartered. "The latter this former naval person utilized, "does not muffle on the sea". Indeed when he was in England became inevitable

the rest Ernst von Weizsäcker, the duty of treason was difficult and in a fog of impend- ing inevitability. He recorded the "inevitability of the whole". What P. Taylor wrongly attributed to him, he applied to Weizsäcker who was "the only German statesman in a man in despair." "The scope of a statesman in fact is not limited." Madness and criminality carried the day over the ability of the old school of the statesman. "The statesman's fate will be recorded, offensive speculation in the Weizsäcker papers are of a lonesome and defeated kind." "They reflect the state of mind of Wilhelmian statesman in 1914." "The statesman is badly led." "If it takes to in time it can come out of this clear but limited loss." November 16, 1940, he noted "the statesman's fate will be recorded, offensive speculation in the Weizsäcker papers are of a lonesome and defeated kind." "They reflect the state of mind of Wilhelmian statesman in 1914." "The statesman is badly led." "If it takes to in time it can come out of this clear but limited loss." November 16, 1940, he noted "the statesman's fate will be recorded, offensive speculation in the Weizsäcker papers are of a lonesome and defeated kind." "They reflect the state of mind of Wilhelmian statesman in 1914." "The statesman is badly led." "If it takes to in time it can come out of this clear but limited loss."

March 1940 Weitzsäcker, taking a daily walk, remembered old friends saying to some of his: "You will be nothing; but keep your word." Indeed, the more the friends against Weitzsäcker, the more deeply was he concerned with maintaining his dignity. But did he do so as he claimed he did?

chill was right when he
the court case against
Weisacker "a deadly error",
because "was not a criminal, so
the case against him was not a
all one. Weisacker wrote a
entrop demonstrated the impos-
sible for me to see the
the situation in Nuremberg deman-
ing impossible from too low
of prevention of force." And
wrongheaded on the part of
Weisacker's detractors to deny him
place in the resistance due to
the opposition in the ser-
vice of Weisacker "a Weisacker
which he was engaged, how-
ineffectively and unconvinc-
ing is a vexing problem that de-
serves careful scrutiny by political
moral philosophers and that
must be disposed of by emotional

It means simply the sacrificial giving of one's own or society's limitations, Ludwig Beck here since he, unlike most of low generals, saw the hollow of the soldier's oath to the Kaiser. He was a Catholic as well as a Jew, unlike Weizsäcker, he sensed the defeat of his own will in preference to tyranny; neither was one because, unlike Hitler, he managed to combine the other two. He was a Jew; neither was one because, like Weizsäcker, he took upon himself the burden of tyrannicide from Weizsäcker recoiled. All men failed in a conventional manner. Ernst von Weizsäcker they carry the crown of freedom. Weizsäcker lamented that he had to face the Nuremberg judges: "I would have preferred an indictment on Hitler's part but was unable to win it. Whether it was simply because I was under the safe protection of Vatican that he escaped prison from Hitler. If Nuremberg had not have a good case against Weizsäcker, the People's Court would not have had an excuse for this ultimate tragedy of World War II. It is purely incidental that elaborate papers of Weizsäcker have no letter from no diary entry, no annotation appearing July 20, 1944.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

CAREERS

The College of Cape Breton

SYDNEY, NOVA SCOTIA

invites applications for the position of
DIRECTOR of the BEATON INSTITUTE
of Cape Breton Studies

The Beaton Institute comprises two main divisions:

1. The Archives and Institute Library.
2. The Division of Ethnic Studies, Folklore, and the Social and Cultural History of Cape Breton.

Responsibilities of the Director will be:

1. To supervise and develop the Archives and the Library of the Institute.
2. To direct and promote research studies in the History of Cape Breton.

Qualifications desired for the position include:

1. Experience in Library, Archives or comparable Administration.
2. Good background in History.
3. Proficiency in Gaelic language and literature a definite asset but not essential.

Closing date for applications is April 15, 1976.

Applications, including Curriculum Vitae, should be addressed to:

The Senior Vice President
College of Cape Breton
P.O. Box 760
Sydney, Nova Scotia, Canada

The International Planned
Parenthood Federation

Documentalist

who will be part of a small team processing and cataloguing of documentation received at the documentation unit of the Library and Documentation Service.

The successful applicant should be educated to GCE 'A' level standard, aged 25-30, and have a minimum of 2 years' full-time experience of international correspondence and be able to type. It is desirable to have obtained or to be studying for a library qualification.

Salary £2,694-£2,784 p.a.

Flexible working hours, 25p per day L.V.s, 4 weeks and 2 days' holiday, together with other fringe benefits.

Apply Miss D. Pettit, IPPF
18-20 Lower Regent Street,
London SW1Y 4PW
01-839 2811.

INTERNATIONAL PLANNED PARENTHOOD FEDERATION

Accessions and
Order Clerk

required for the JOHN LEWIS PARTNERSHIP
LIBRARY, based in Oxford Street.

Duties will include the ordering and charging of all library material, correspondence and the circulation of periodicals. Ability to type would be an advantage.

PAY: £1,800-£2,000

Excellent staff benefits include:

- Profit sharing scheme
- 4 weeks holiday
- Shopping discount in our department stores and Waitrose supermarkets
- Subsidised dining room

Please telephone or write for an application form to: Central Department of Personnel, The John Lewis Partnership, Oxford Street, London W1A 1EX. 01-499 2247.

The John Lewis Partnership

ARGYLL & CLYDE
HEALTH BOARD
RENFREW DISTRICTPOST GRADUATE
SECRETARY/LIBRARY
ASSISTANT

£2,181 to £2,891 per annum

Applications are invited for the above post which includes a dual role of Secretary to the Post Graduate Advisor, approximately 2 sessions per week (21 days) and library assistant under the direct supervision of a qualified Librarian, 6 sessions per week.

Preference will be given to candidates with experience although training will be given where necessary.

For further information and an application form please contact the Personnel Department, Westmount, Park Road, Paisley, Tel. 041 887 6111, ext. 387.

ARGYLL & CLYDE
HEALTH BOARD
RENFREW DISTRICTLIBRARY
ASSISTANT

Salary Range

£2,181 to £2,891 per annum

Applications are invited for the post of Library Assistant under the direction of a qualified Librarian.

Duties will include day-to-day running of two small libraries in the School of Nursing and the Health Board Headquarters, Paisley.

Preference will be given to candidates with experience although training will be given where necessary.

For further information and an application form please contact the Personnel Department, Westmount, Park Road, Paisley, Tel. 041 887 6111, ext. 387.

METROPOLITAN BOROUGH OF
NORTH TYNESIDE
LIBRARIES AND ARTS DEPARTMENTLocal Studies
Librarian

AP4/5 (£3,366-£4,095)

The successful candidate will be responsible for local studies material (except archives) relating to North Tyneside and its surrounding area and will work in close cooperation with an archivist on the staff of the County Archivist of Tyne and Wear Metropolitan County.

The local studies service has been developed considerably during the last two years and this post offers a most challenging and rewarding opportunity for a specialist interested in this specialistism, the post appointed will be responsible for instituting a publications programme, building up a close liaison with schools and local history societies, and training in the relevant research methods.

Applicants must be chartered librarians and should have experience in the field of local history.

Further information may be obtained from the Chief Librarian, Central Library, Northumberland Square, North Shields, Tyne and Wear NE30 1QQ, and should be returned two weeks after the appearance of this advertisement.

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

(AP 1/3 £2,127-£3,282)

Applications are invited from librarians, who have passed at least Part 1 of their professional examination for the post of Assistant Librarian, Eastern District. The successful applicant will be one of nine professional staff who will assist in the operation of nine smaller libraries together with general duties at the Headquarters in district at Higham Ferrers.

Please send an S.A.E. for a job description and an application form to the Personnel Officer, County of Northamptonshire, Northampton, Completed applications should be returned by 8th March, 1976.

Northamptonshire
LibrariesHampshire
Libraries

Applications are invited for the following posts in the Hampshire County Library Service.

LIBRARIAN
Landing Point, Portsmouth-Office 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st, 32nd, 33rd, 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 41st, 42nd, 43rd, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, 51st, 52nd, 53rd, 54th, 55th, 56th, 57th, 58th, 59th, 60th, 61st, 62nd, 63rd, 64th, 65th, 66th, 67th, 68th, 69th, 70th, 71st, 72nd, 73rd, 74th, 75th, 76th, 77th, 78th, 79th, 80th, 81st, 82nd, 83rd, 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, 88th, 89th, 90th, 91st, 92nd, 93rd, 94th, 95th, 96th, 97th, 98th, 99th, 100th, 101st, 102nd, 103rd, 104th, 105th, 106th, 107th, 108th, 109th, 110th, 111th, 112th, 113th, 114th, 115th, 116th, 117th, 118th, 119th, 120th, 121st, 122nd, 123rd, 124th, 125th, 126th, 127th, 128th, 129th, 130th, 131st, 132nd, 133rd, 134th, 135th, 136th, 137th, 138th, 139th, 140th, 141st, 142nd, 143rd, 144th, 145th, 146th, 147th, 148th, 149th, 150th, 151st, 152nd, 153rd, 154th, 155th, 156th, 157th, 158th, 159th, 160th, 161st, 162nd, 163rd, 164th, 165th, 166th, 167th, 168th, 169th, 170th, 171st, 172nd, 173rd, 174th, 175th, 176th, 177th, 178th, 179th, 180th, 181st, 182nd, 183rd, 184th, 185th, 186th, 187th, 188th, 189th, 190th, 191st, 192nd, 193rd, 194th, 195th, 196th, 197th, 198th, 199th, 200th, 201st, 202nd, 203rd, 204th, 205th, 206th, 207th, 208th, 209th, 210th, 211st, 212th, 213th, 214th, 215th, 216th, 217th, 218th, 219th, 220th, 221st, 222nd, 223rd, 224th, 225th, 226th, 227th, 228th, 229th, 230th, 231st, 232nd, 233rd, 234th, 235th, 236th, 237th, 238th, 239th, 240th, 241st, 242nd, 243rd, 244th, 245th, 246th, 247th, 248th, 249th, 250th, 251st, 252nd, 253rd, 254th, 255th, 256th, 257th, 258th, 259th, 260th, 261st, 262nd, 263rd, 264th, 265th, 266th, 267th, 268th, 269th, 270th, 271st, 272nd, 273rd, 274th, 275th, 276th, 277th, 278th, 279th, 280th, 281st, 282nd, 283rd, 284th, 285th, 286th, 287th, 288th, 289th, 290th, 291st, 292nd, 293rd, 294th, 295th, 296th, 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